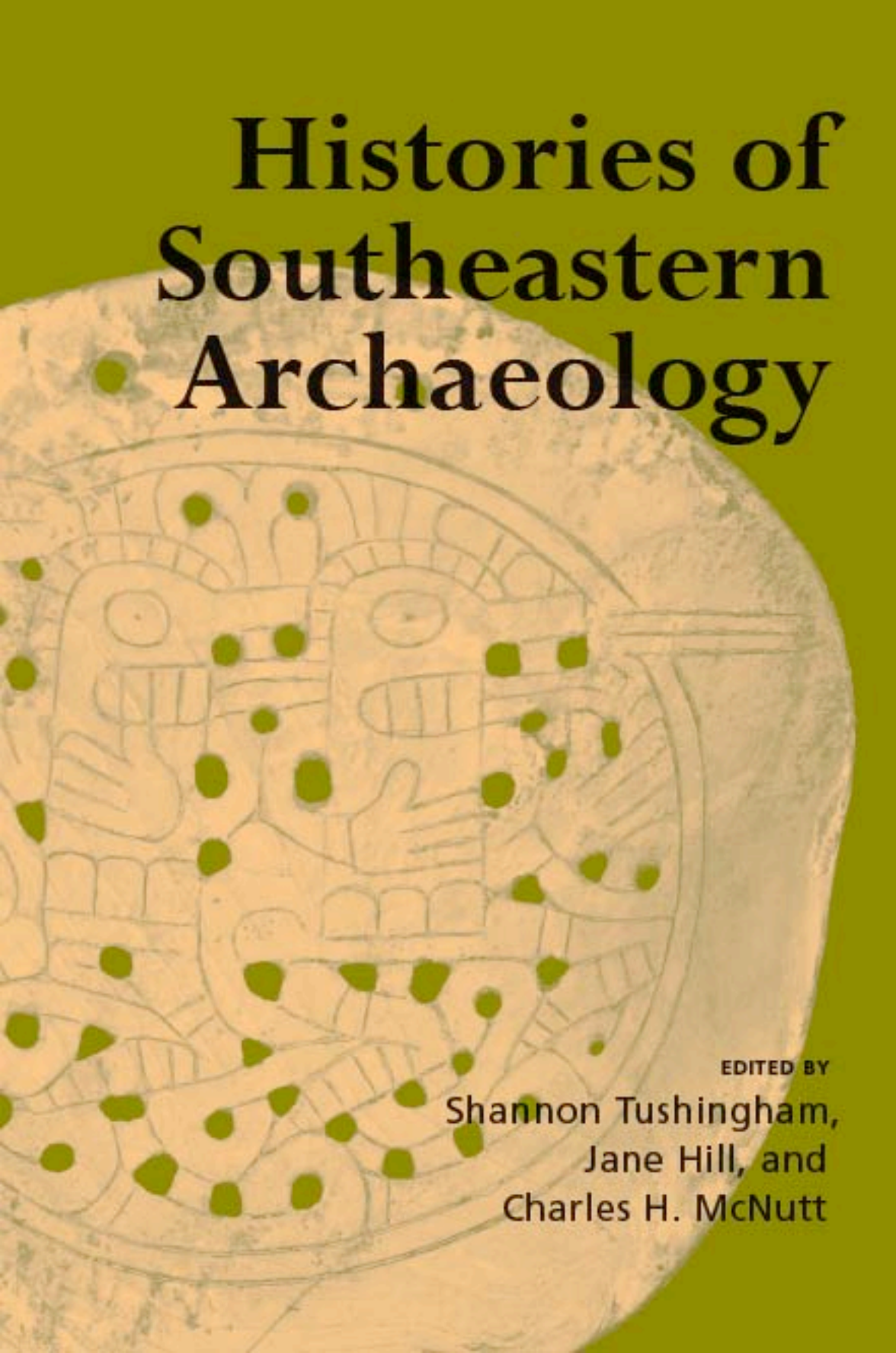


Histories of Southeastern Archaeology



EDITED BY

Shannon Tushingham,
Jane Hill, and
Charles H. McNutt

Histories of Southeastern Archaeology

Histories of Southeastern Archaeology

Edited by Shannon Tushingham, Jane Hill,
and Charles H. McNutt

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA PRESS

Tuscaloosa

Copyright © 2002
The University of Alabama Press
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35487-0380
All rights reserved
Manufactured in the United States of America

The typeface is Minion

∞

The paper on which this book is printed meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Science—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Histories of southeastern archaeology / edited by Shannon Tushingham, Jane Hill, and Charles H. McNutt.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 0-8173-1139-4 (paper : alk. paper) ISBN 978-0-8173-1139-1 (paper : alk. paper)

1. Indians of North America—Southern States—Antiquities. 2. Archaeologists—Southern States—Interviews. 3. Archaeologists—Southern States—History.

4. Excavations (Archaeology)—Southern States—History. 5. Southern States—Antiquities. I. Tushingham, Shannon. II. Hill, Jane, 1964– III. McNutt, Charles H.

E78.S65 H57 2002

975'.01—dc21

2001005411

ISBN 978-0-8173-1364-7 (electronic)

Contents

List of Illustrations / vii

Précis / ix

Charles H. McNutt

Introduction / xv

Shannon Tushingham and Jane Hill

PART I: TOPICS

1. Excerpts from “Bringing the Past Alive”: Interviews with William Haag and George Quimby / 3
William Haag, George Quimby, and Ann F. Ramenofsky
2. Museum Paradigms and the History of Southeastern Archaeology / 13
David S. Brose
3. Forty Years of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex / 26
James A. Brown
4. Historical Archaeology in the Southeast, 1930–2000 / 35
Stanley South and Kathleen Deagan
5. Paleogeography and Geomorphology in the Lower Mississippi Valley / 51
Roger T. Saucier

PART II: STATES

6. Some Ruminations on the Archaeology of Southeast Missouri / 63
Stephen Williams
7. Pot Hunters, Salvage, and Science in Arkansas, 1900–2000 / 77
Hester A. Davis
8. Louisiana Archaeology: A Selective History / 88
Robert W. Neuman

9.	Rediscovering Illinois: The Development of Archaeology in Illinois / 99
	<i>Jon Muller</i>
10.	The History of Archaeology in West Virginia / 115
	<i>Bettye J. Broyles</i>
11.	Virginia's Archaeology: A Look Back and a Look Ahead / 126
	<i>Howard A. MacCord Sr.</i>
12.	North Carolina Archaeology in Historical Perspective / 136
	<i>Bennie C. Keel</i>
13.	A History of Archaeological Research in South Carolina / 145
	<i>David G. Anderson</i>
14.	Forty Years of Kentucky Archaeology or Incidents of Recent Archaeological History in a Border State: A Review / 160
	<i>R. Berle Clay</i>
15.	A History of Tennessee Archaeology / 172
	<i>Charles H. Faulkner</i>
16.	One Hundred Years of Archaeology in Mississippi / 183
	<i>Jay K. Johnson</i>
17.	Alabama Archaeology in the Twentieth Century / 194
	<i>John A. Walthall, Vernon J. Knight Jr., and Gregory Waselkov</i>
18.	A Personal Perspective on Georgia Archaeology at the End of the Twentieth Century / 209
	<i>Lewis Larson</i>
19.	Florida Archaeology: A Recent History / 219
	<i>Jerald T. Milanich</i>
PART III: COMMENTARY	
20.	Histories by the Archaeologist, for the Archaeologist / 233
	<i>Kenneth E. Sassaman</i>
	References Cited / 243
	Acknowledgments / 351
	Contributors / 353
	Index / 363

Illustrations

- 0.1. Charles H. McNutt and Bill Dunson at Sully
Field Camp, 1958 / x
- 0.2. Phoebe McNutt, Charles H. McNutt, James B. Griffin,
and Stephen Williams at Southeastern Archaeological
Conference meeting, 1982 / xii
- 0.3. Symposium participants at Southeastern Archaeological
Conference, Histories/Lower Mississippi Survey
reception, 1999 / xvii
- 0.4. Map of southeastern U.S. archaeological sites / xxi
 - 1.1. William Haag and George Quimby / 5
 - 1.2. James B. Griffin / 10
 - 3.1. Eliza McFadden, Richard Bartlett, Phil Phillips,
Jim Brown, Barbara Page, and Jeff Brain at
Peabody Museum, 1980 / 28
 - 5.1. Early and Late Wisconsinan stage valley train
surfaces and deposits / 54
 - 5.2. James A. Ford / 55
 - 5.3. Distribution of Dalton points / 56
 - 6.1. Map of Sikeston Ridge / 67
 - 6.2. Thomas Beckwith / 68
 - 6.3. Beckwith collection / 69
 - 7.1. Cob Cave, 1931 / 80
 - 7.2. Means site, 1940 / 82
 - 7.3. Map of reservoir surveys and testing in Arkansas / 85

8.1.	Watson Brake site	/	93
9.1.	Kincaid, 1936	/	104
9.2.	Kincaid, 1940	/	105
10.1.	Archaeological sites in West Virginia	/	117
13.1.	Archaeological sites in South Carolina	/	146
15.1.	Madeline Kneberg Lewis and T. M. N. Lewis	/	175
17.1.	WPA excavations at sites Ma31 and Ma32	/	197
18.1.	Excavations at Mound C, Etowah	/	216
19.1.	Charles Fairbanks and Jerald T. Milanich	/	221
19.2.	Workmen at shell midden near Thursby Mound, St. Johns River	/	226

Précis

Charles H. McNutt

This volume has grown from seeds planted by two of my past graduate students, Jane Hill and Shannon Tushingham, who wished to organize a session at the Southeastern Archaeological Conference in my honor, featuring senior scholars giving their personal views of the history of Southeastern archaeology. I made some of the initial contacts; responses were more than anyone could hope for—a real geriatric happening.

Hill and Tushingham followed up in all phases of organization and also laid the groundwork for publication of our efforts by the University of Alabama Press. I am sufficiently honored to be a participant in the project.

As you all know, one of our most highly respected and fondly regarded contributors, Roger Saucier, was not able to present his paper at SEAC in person. It is our good fortune that Roger had completed his critical contribution to our volume before his untimely death.

My colleague Charles Faulkner discusses the history of archaeology in Tennessee. This leaves me free to add a brief personal note told, it is hoped, against a background of more than three decades of Southeastern archaeology.

My first association with Southeastern archaeology came when I was a graduate student at the University of Michigan. I accompanied Jimmy Griffin and Al Spaulding to Poverty Point in 1955, I think, where we joined such other notables as William Haag, Junius Bird, George Quimby, Clarence Webb, Stu Neitzel, and Robert Greengo to discuss the puzzle of Poverty Point with Jim Ford. The Michigan contingent returned by way of Nodena Plantation, where I met the Hampsons; from there we went to see Cahokia, which I refused to believe was a mound. In 1957 Griffin and Spaulding also took me to the fourteenth SEAC in Macon, Georgia. In those days, professors took graduate students to sites and went out of their way to introduce them to other professionals.

As auspicious as this was, I was an ingrate. I had gotten my master's degree in the Southwest and could not understand why people would dig among roots, mud, poison ivy, mosquitoes, and chiggers. I still don't really understand it.

After passing my preliminary doctoral exams and digging my "dissertation site"—in the Southwest—I went to work for Robert Stephenson in 1957 at the River Basin Surveys located in Lincoln, Nebraska. My position was absolutely



Figure 0.1. Charles H. McNutt (playing the banjo) and Bill Dunson at Sully Field Camp, South Dakota, 1958. (Courtesy of Robert W. Neuman)

ideal—an excellent boss, stimulating colleagues, no publish-or-perish pressure, incredible research opportunities, a lab such as only Bob Stephenson could organize, and a very open intellectual atmosphere. Inexplicably, I decided to leave Lincoln in late 1959 and enter academia. In those days, you could do this easily; it was a seller's market, unlike today.

I ended up at the University of Tennessee, with some encouragement from Jimmy Griffin. Lewis and Kneberg had been at Tennessee since the 1930s and would soon retire; they needed a successor. I went to Knoxville, did a great job teaching, conducted and published excellent research in Melton Hill Reservoir, and gave resounding speeches to the public. But for some reason I was not regarded as a desirable successor. I still don't know what went wrong. Lewis was followed by Ted Guthe as Chairman, and when I found that Guthe somehow feared the distant wrath of Madeline, I resigned. It was still a seller's market in the spring of 1962. My wife was not enthusiastic about my prideful behavior.

After two years' R and R with Bob Euler at Northern Arizona University, I returned to Tennessee in 1964, this time to Memphis State University. Mindful

that my career had consisted of disjointed two-year stints in Lincoln, Knoxville, and Flagstaff, I resolved to become more sedentary. I did; I am still here.

In Memphis, the only other person on the staff was Charles Nash, who was teaching a course in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and also directing activities at the nascent Chucalissa museum. The program at Memphis State University, now unfortunately named The University of Memphis, has grown since that time from an undergraduate specialization in anthropology to an “applied” Master of Arts program that has graduated well over one hundred M.A.s in archaeology, urban, and medical tracks. Our archaeology graduates have been very successful in finding positions with cultural resource management firms; many others have gone on to study for their doctorates.

I have been particularly successful in collaborating with many graduate students on numerous research projects: in Decatur County, Tennessee, with Steven Adamson (McNutt et al. 1989); in Tipton County, Tennessee, with Drew Buchner (Buchner and McNutt 1989); in northern Mississippi with Jamie Brandon (McNutt and Brandon 1995) and Tim Pugh (McNutt and Pugh 1991); in Carroll County, Tennessee, with Shawn Chapman and Harold Smith (McNutt et al. 1990); at the Shelby Forest site with Eda Fain (McNutt and Fain 1990); in northeast Arkansas with Keith Keeney (Keeney et al. 1999) and with Christopher Koeppel and Scott Shaffer (McNutt et al. 1992); at Chucalissa and in the Hartsville area east of Nashville with Lisa Lumb (Lumb and McNutt 1988; McNutt and Lumb 1987, respectively); in Sumner County, Tennessee, with Patricia Quillian (Quillian and McNutt 1981); in west and central Tennessee with Richard Walling (Walling 1987a, 1987b; McNutt and Walling 1989, respectively), and, alphabetically last but hardly least, with Guy Weaver in west (Weaver and McNutt 1977, 1979a), middle (McNutt and Weaver 1983, Weaver and McNutt 1979b) and, joined by Glenda Maness, east (McNutt et al. 1984, 1985) Tennessee, as well as Little Bear Creek in northern Alabama (McNutt and Weaver 1985). After this orgy of self-citation, I feel obliged to note that I did do some things on my own.

During these years I attended virtually all meetings of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference. This is unquestionably the major arena of interaction among prehistoric archaeologists working in the Southeast. At these meetings I made a great number of acquaintances and received much encouragement and advice. My new colleagues came from all parts of the Southeast, and others even came from Massachusetts; all drank beer, and most smoked heavily. An incredible number of these people are still alive.

As SEAC has grown into a multisession affair, smaller local conferences such as the Mid-South Archaeological Conference have become increasingly impor-



Figure 0.2. Phoebe McNutt, Charles H. McNutt, James B. Griffin, and Stephen Williams in Memphis at the Thirty-ninth Southeastern Archaeological Conference meeting, Memphis, 1982. (Courtesy of Charles H. McNutt)

tant in maintaining the type of interactions that once characterized SEAC. The publication of contributed papers, such as characterizes the Mid-South Conference, is exemplary. In the future, as the Society for Historic Archaeology continues its growth, we may well see comparable developments at the local level in historic archaeology. Indeed, the process of segmentation may have begun already in Memphis with the 1999 meeting of the South-Central Historical Archaeology Conference (SCHAC).

I think that the collegium maintained by professional meetings has been particularly important to Southeastern archaeology. It has encouraged cooperation by disparate scholars to contribute to regional syntheses; certainly this is the case in the region with which I am familiar (McNutt 1996; Morse and Morse 1983; O'Brien and Dunnell 1998). And again, this present volume must be regarded as a major tribute to the superorganic entity of Southeastern archaeology. It must be observed that two of the contributions cited above have been made possible by the University of Alabama Press and its publications editor.

In closing, I would add a comment on the apparent hiatus in the Southeast regarding New Archaeology. Cultural processes can be understood only when based on a firm grasp of chronology and content: something called culture history. We are quite aware that we lack satisfactory grasps of culture history in most parts of the southeastern United States. The sequence is too long; there has been too little work, too much destruction, and too little publication; and reliable chronology has been difficult to come by. There are even argu-

ments about how to attain a basis for understanding culture process—O'Brien's rather nonscientific version of "materialism," what appears to me as a more scientific attempt that the same author brands "essentialism," or an approach that attempts to explicate process in Darwinian terms (cf. O'Brien and Lyman 1999a:225–226). Regardless of one's stance, most of us seem to realize that we just aren't ready to jump ahead into the processual realm; the evolutionary archaeologists are showing dangerous tendencies, however. I suspect that segments of Southeastern archaeology may even make the saltation from preliminary culture histories to post-processualism. That, I feel, would not be a productive development.

It is time to close with a note of hope. I can do this without qualm. I foresee continued work in prehistoric archaeology under the new governmental strictures. We will need better opportunity to work with Native Americans without compulsive meddling from certain government agencies. Historical archaeology will grow dramatically, in part because of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, but even more so because of the ease with which its subject matter can be conveyed to the general public. The demand for skilled graduates will, if anything, increase. These things, I suspect, will happen as a result of forces that exist at present. Increasing efforts to stimulate legislative and public interest in archaeology and museums will not just happen; these must be of major future concern.

Introduction

The History of Histories

Shannon Tushingham and Jane Hill

At the Fifty-sixth Annual Southeastern Archaeological Conference a series of papers were presented at a symposium titled “Histories of Southeastern Archaeology.” We organized this symposium to honor Charles H. McNutt, Professor Emeritus at the University of Memphis, who retired from the classroom in 1998. Dr. McNutt exerted great influence on our education, as he has with hundreds of anthropology students attending the University of Memphis over the last three decades. We thought that the semiretirement of our mentor called for something more dynamic than the traditional handsome plaques and hearty handshakes. We decided that a symposium involving senior scholars talking about the history of archaeology and how they had “grown up” in the field would be a fitting tribute to Dr. McNutt’s career.

The path that led us to this choice of symposium topic was certainly not direct. Several different subjects were considered and rejected. Ultimately, we were inspired by our interest in the history of archaeology in the Southeast and a keen desire to hear the personal stories and reflections of archaeologists who had worked through these developments over the last several decades. This interest is an outgrowth of our relationship with Dr. McNutt, whose ability to fuse changing theoretical perspectives with personal experience in the practical application of anthropology enabled us to bridge the gap between theory and practice in our own work. Like others of his generation, he personally knew many of the archaeologists about whom we had only read. For example, as a student it is one thing to read about the Ford-Spaulling debate but quite another to listen to it described by someone who experienced it firsthand. We found it enlightening and entertaining to hear Dr. McNutt describe himself as a graduate student in the late 1950s, happily mixing in a moonlit discussion between James Ford and Albert Spaulding. Stories such as these make the history of archaeology come alive.

In our introduction to the “Histories” symposium at SEAC, we gave tribute to Dr. McNutt by describing some of the landmarks of his career. It was a difficult task considering his modesty and all that he has accomplished. With the help of former students and longtime friends, we also were able to tell some good jokes and show some humorous photographs, so in that sense, for us it

was a success. Without embarrassing him any further we would simply like to make the point that it is our impression that Charles McNutt is a remarkable scholar, a gifted teacher, and an enduring friend.

Initially, we promised Dr. McNutt that he would not have to lift a finger to bring this symposium to fruition. As is typical of him, however, he was not content to sit on the sidelines waiting for laurels to be laid at his feet and instead became an active participant. So as the project developed we found that instead of having a professor on a pedestal we had gained a senior partner. The response and enthusiasm for the project from those we contacted have been greater and more satisfying than we ever expected.

On November 11, 1999, at the SEAC meetings in Pensacola, Florida, the authors of this book gathered to present their papers. At the close of the "Histories" symposium, there was a screening of "Bringing the Past Alive," a fascinating interview with William Haag and George Quimby conducted in 1989 by Ann Ramenofsky at Louisiana State University. In chapter 1 we have provided selected excerpts from the sixty-five-page transcript of this interview. We hasten to add that we left the difficult task of choosing these excerpts to Dr. McNutt, a process he described as "brutal." This experience left us with even greater respect for Dr. Ramenofsky, who edited more than six hours of videotaped interview to an hour-and-a-half-long program for public television. We encourage anyone interested in the history of Southeastern archaeology, and specifically Depression-era archaeology, to view this tape. It contains invaluable firsthand information, and we have to agree with Dr. Ramenofsky that Drs. Haag and Quimby *do* tell a good story.

The symposium generated a lot of excitement, brought several people out of retirement from SEAC meetings, and gladdened the hearts of bartenders in the greater Pensacola area. We were encouraged by many to be sure the papers presented were published, and we resolved to do so as soon as was humanly possible.

Initially, we proposed discussing the history of archaeology in the Southeast by culture area. We soon realized, however, that modern American archaeology in this century has been practiced predominately along political borders rather than culture areas, so we settled on a state-by-state format, retaining several specialist topics that cross state lines. This format required a larger number of contributors, and, consequently, limits had to be placed on the length of papers to be published. Because these constraints were as tiresome as they were unavoidable, we commend the authors for their understanding and brevity.

Each chapter gives a different perspective on what it was like to be an archaeologist in the southeastern United States over time. Individual authors took differing approaches to the subject, each guided by personal experiences as well as by the vagaries of personalities, location, funding, and legislation that



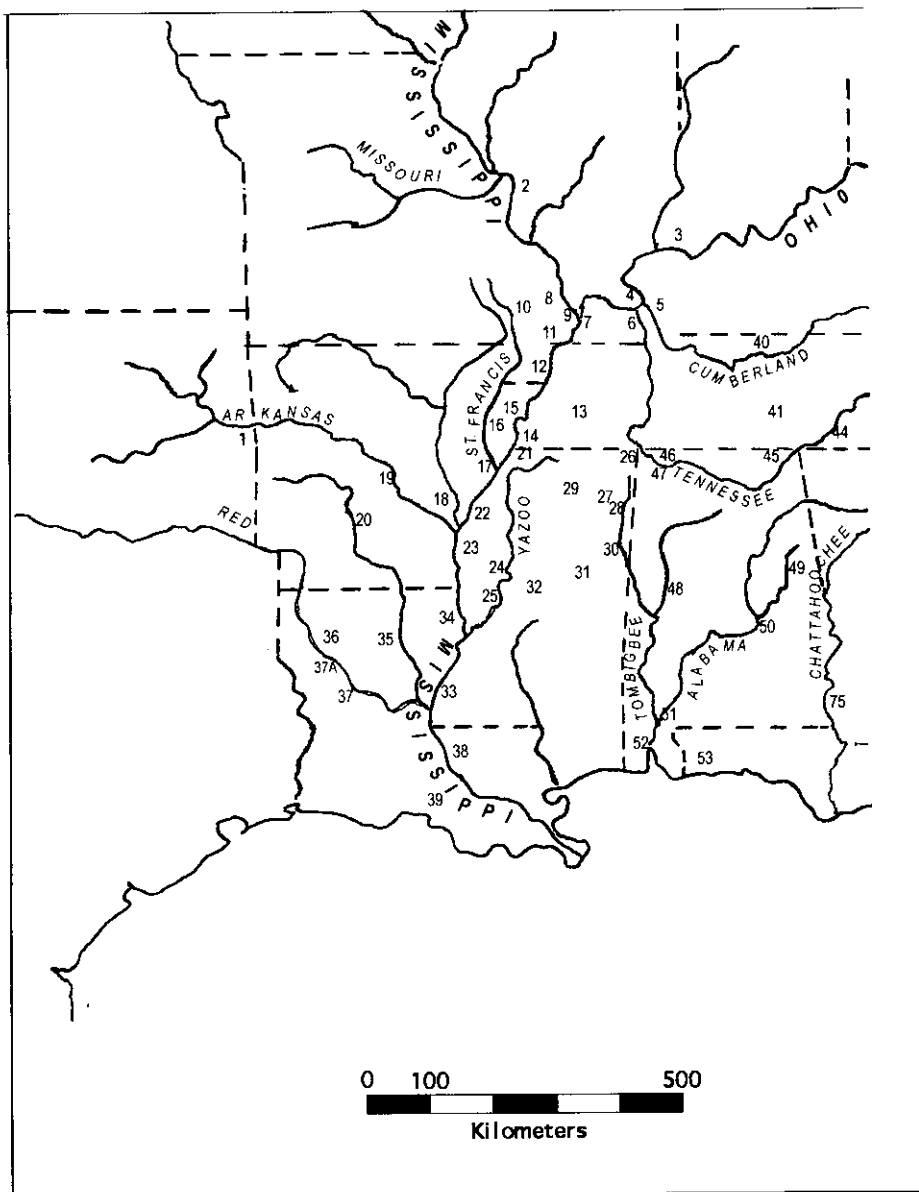
Figure 0.3. Symposium participants at the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Histories/Lower Mississippi Survey reception, November 12, 1999. Back row, left to right: John A. Walthall, Howard MacCord, Lewis Larson, Jay K. Johnson, Gregory Waselkov. Middle row, left to right: Shannon Tushingham, Kenneth E. Sassaman, David G. Anderson, David Brose, Stephen Williams, Robert W. Neuman, Jane Hill. Seated, left to right: Jerald T. Milanich, Vernon J. Knight, Charles H. McNutt, Jon Muller. (Courtesy of M. M. Peach)

had a hand in shaping the discipline through time. Despite this profusion of differences, common themes do emerge in the book. These include the effect of changing theory (or the lack thereof) in Americanist archaeology; the explosion of contract archaeology and its relationship to academic archaeology; research goals that were, or have yet, to be achieved; and the common ground of SEAC meetings, where the discipline seeks to find one voice. So if your interest is in early fieldwork in Florida, do not stop at Jerald Milanich's history of that state. There is a wealth of information to be gleaned from other Southeasternists whose research and experiences had a hand in shaping the discipline as a whole. For an entertaining account of shoestring budget fieldwork in the 1940s and 1950s, read Lewis Larson's reflections on his early experiences in Georgia. Jon Muller provides a compelling account of how applied theory and research conducted at the University of Chicago's field schools influenced many who dominated Southeastern archaeology for almost half a century. Contrast Jay Johnson's history of Mississippi archaeology's "third world" status, dependent on research by northern universities, with Stephen Williams's accounts of his research for Yale, the University of Michigan, and

Harvard's Lower Mississippi Survey. Read Hester Davis's personal accounts of a female archaeologist's experiences in Arkansas seeking funding, building coalitions with amateur archaeologists, teaching field schools, and synthesizing research. Whatever your interest, we believe you will find the contributions in this volume valuable.

When this project was in its infancy in the spring of 1999, Charles McNutt imparted these words of foresight and wisdom: "You do realize that if you don't follow through on this you could have a couple dozen of the most prominent archaeologists in the southeastern United States mad at you?" We gulped, said "yes," and never looked back. Our enthusiasm for this project has never wavered, partly due to our interest in the subject matter but also thanks to the support, guidance, and encouragement of Charles McNutt, the authors of this book, and a great many others.

Histories of Southeastern Archaeology



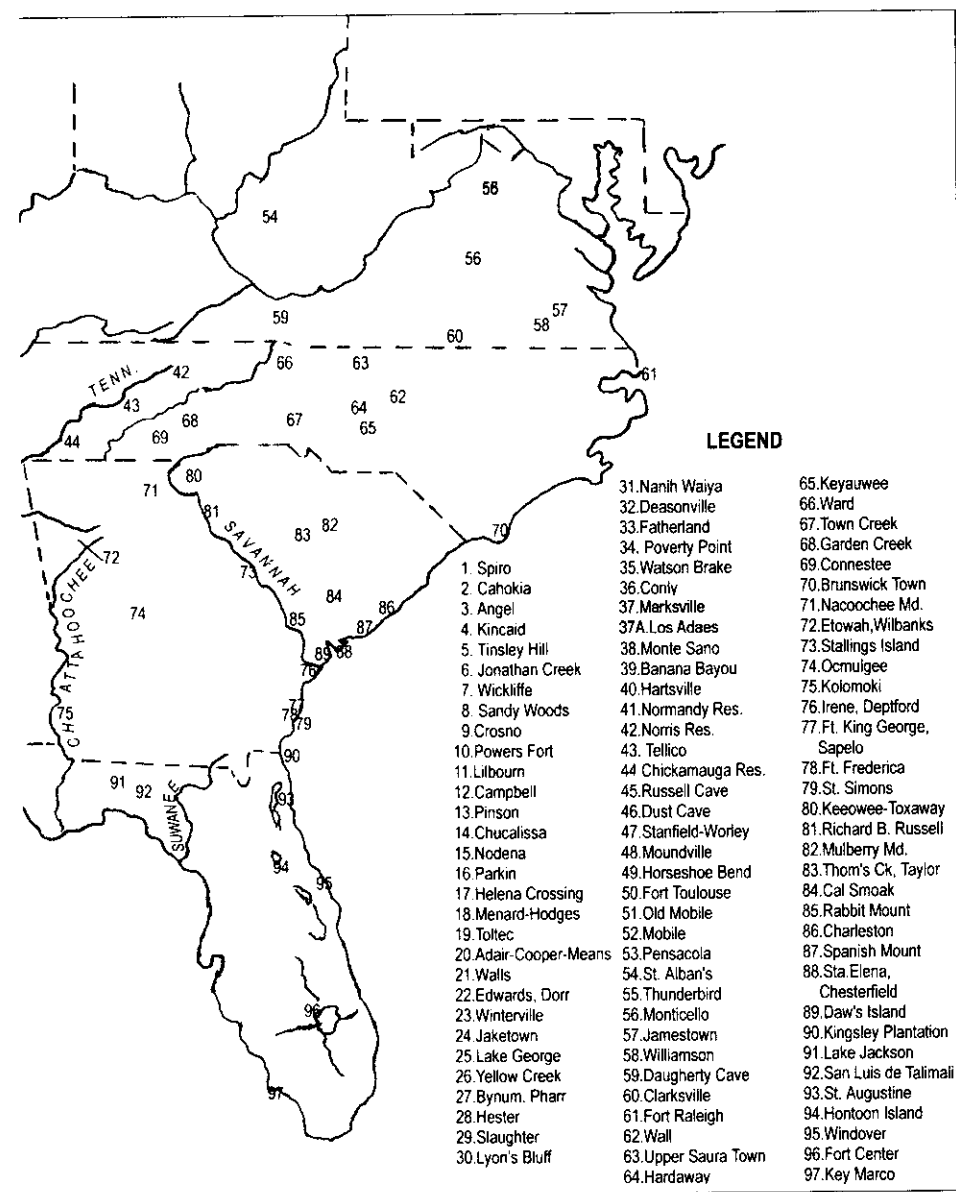


Figure 0.4. Map of southeastern United States archaeological sites. (Courtesy of Charles H. McNutt)

PART I
Topics

1 Excerpts from “Bringing the Past Alive”

*Interviews with William Haag
and George Quimby*

William Haag, George Quimby, and Ann F. Ramenofsky

The Making of the Haag/Quimby Tape
Ann F. Ramenofsky, Fall 1999

Shortly after joining the faculty at Louisiana State University, I began to realize that LSU played a much bigger role in culture history and Works Progress Administration archaeology than was traditionally recognized by the professional community. I knew that Ford had received his undergraduate degree from LSU, that Ford and Fred Kniffen had worked together closely, that the Marksville excavation was significant in WPA history, and that Bill Haag had worked in the WPA with Major Webb. I did not know the role that George Quimby had played in the Louisiana WPA organization or that the WPA laboratory was housed on the LSU campus for a period of time. Moreover, knowing something of the structure of WPA history in Louisiana and beyond was quite different from knowing the stories. The stories created a rich and unique texture of the period. The longer I was at LSU, the more stories I heard, and the more important capturing those stories became. *Bringing the Past Alive: A Conversation with Bill Haag and George Quimby* was my effort to provide an oral history of WPA archaeology and to share the richness of the period with the generations who had not been there. The project was made possible by a grant from the Louisiana Endowment of the Humanities, 89-887-15, and by the Department of Geography and Anthropology at LSU.

Editors' note: The following excerpts from Ann Ramenofsky's interview with William Haag and George Quimby in 1989 are taken from a fourteen-thousand-word transcription prepared by Shannon Tushingham.

Introduction

Ann F. Ramenofsky

Despite the poverty that permeated America in the 1930s, it was a time of great archaeological creativity throughout the Southeast. Federal programs in Southeastern archaeology (what Ed Lyon has called New Deal archaeology) put hundreds of people to work, resulting in the excavation of more than three hundred sites.

George Quimby was director of the WPA laboratories in Louisiana from 1939 to 1941. The laboratory was first located in New Orleans; it was moved to the geology building at LSU in 1939. William Haag began his archaeological career as field supervisor in the Tennessee Valley Authority projects in 1934. In 1937 he became curator of anthropology at the University of Kentucky. After World War II, Bill became Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Mississippi. He joined the geography and anthropology faculty at LSU in 1953.

Haag/Quimby Interview

Editor's note: Dialogue preceded by "R" is the interviewer and producer, Ann F. Ramenofsky; "H" and "Q" are the discussants.

R: Bill, would you like to talk about how you got into archaeology and what was going on at Kentucky once you got involved in curation, museum work, and so forth?

H: The so forth is what I know most about. It became apparent that to have a successful TVA archeological program, they had to have a lot of archaeologists. There were not a lot of archaeologists. Thus, any of us that had museum experience [were hired]. I labored under that exalted title of Curator of Anthropology at the University of Kentucky. Yet what that mostly meant was arranging artifacts in cases more than any real experience. But I had worked with Major Webb and W. D. Funkhouser in rock shelters in the eastern part of Kentucky, essentially as a way to pass the summer. Thus it was that anyone who had a minimum amount of experience [was hired].

But I must confess that I learned my archaeology in Tennessee, in the Wheeler Basin and Pickwick Basin [where] there were hundreds of archaeological sites. Big shell middens and so on. But we could touch only a minimum number of those. A very accurate survey was made of those sites, so that when Pickwick Dam is completely covered under 180 feet of silt, they can pinpoint that archaeological site. They will be mining archaeological sites in all probability.

George, how did you really get sucked into the program?



Figure 1.1. William Haag and George Quimby in conversation (from the video *Bringing the Past Alive*). (Courtesy of Louisiana State University Department of Geography and Anthropology and Ann F. Ramenofsky)

Q: When I entered the University of Michigan. Griffin has written of his surprise that I passed physical education; I also passed the course in hygiene. And on that basis, I was admitted to the graduate school. I majored in anthropology because it was one of the first things in the catalog. I didn't know exactly what it was. I had a romantic interest in the American Indian, and that's how I got into anthropology under Carl Guthe and Leslie White.

My entrance into WPA was actually through the Near East. Seleucia and Ctesiphon.¹ The university had had an archaeological program along the Tigris. All of the materials that had been brought back had never been processed. We set up a laboratory in Detroit, not far from Ann Arbor. We set up a sort of assembly line system based on Model T Fords—Model A Fords then. We had sinks where WPA workers scrubbed the coins of Mithradates the Magnificent² and different kinds of little heathen idols and got the potsherds washed and everything catalogued and tabulated. At the end of the line the archaeologists could go to work.

R: Bill, could you tell us something about the excavations of those shell middens? And also, what were you reacting to when you became the Young Turks?

H: Well, it was those Old Turks. Who really . . . After all, all science operates on the principle of erecting a model and using that as a guide for research until

something better comes along. Well, we were the something better. It's obvious that many of the old ideas were based on such a limited amount of data that they couldn't have very far-reaching connections from one archaeological area to another. Thus it was that our first endeavors were all chronologically oriented. We were extremely sensitive to stratification. We knew that what was at the bottom was older than what was at the top. No one had ever dug into a big shell midden except C. B. Moore.

When we were digging—I remember this with some embarrassment—in north Alabama, we thought this is absolutely new. [In fact] Jimmy Griffin came down on a visit one time, and he's the one who sort of clued us: "Look, that's Indian Knoll type of archaeological remains." So we all started reading that eminent archaeologist C. B. Moore.

Major Webb was head of the physics department at the University of Kentucky. He had been doing archaeological work as a hobby, using students in the summer, for the national something or other. I started to say Science Foundation.

R: Research Council?

H: Yes, National Research Council, thank you. [They] recognized him, gave him enough money to buy a truck for fieldwork, and so on. Dr. Funkhouser was Dean of the Graduate School, Secretary of the Southern Football Conference, and head of the zoology department. His archaeology was, well, strictly marginal. Those were the individuals who we were actually competing with as we got older.

Q: One of my mentors was Dr. Hinsdale. He was in his nineties, and he'd done all the pioneer work in Michigan. He'd been brought up by his grandfather, who had been a foot soldier in the War of the Revolution. So Hinsdale could be sitting there in the lab telling me firsthand stories that he'd heard from a soldier in the Revolutionary War.

H: When it came to the actual excavation of these gigantic shell middens we could only sample them, even though we didn't have any concept of modern sampling theory. But we did invent new techniques, such as what we called the block technique: isolating a block of the shell midden by trenching all around it, literally throwing that trench record away and then carefully taking the block down.

Q: The really big thing that we did was chronology. There wasn't particularly any interest in it because we had the McKern Classification System, which was basically based on zoological classification. It wasn't working too well because you just wound up with a whole bunch of entities with names on them, but you didn't know how to place them anywhere except typologically. Under Jim Ford, with the geological and paleontological concept of layers, and also

of index fossils (the sherds), and winding up with seriation, we developed what was really the New Archaeology of the time.

R: How did the Old Turks react?

Q: Well, some thought it was nonsense.

R: What did Major Webb think, and what did Guthe think, and what did—

H: Of course, Major Webb was a very strong personality, to use mild terms. But I know that he would not come to any of the first Southeastern Conference meetings. It was a long time before many of those older scientists would find any way of accommodating themselves to these younger people. What it amounted to in the long run was literally jealousy.

Q: Getting back to C. B. Moore, I most envied him because he had a stern-wheel steamboat that he went to all of the sites on and had his crew scout things out.

H: C. B. Moore was an inspiration to us in the sense that he published about everything he did without wasting any time.

R: Maybe we should talk about Stu Neitzel's relationship to both of you and to WPA archaeology and to Jim Ford.

H: Stu Neitzel was a University in Nebraska student and went to the University of Chicago as a physical anthropologist, and I guess stayed a year or two. He worked one summer down at the Kincaid site, which was the University of Chicago's training ground.

Q: Torture center.

H: Stu went to work for Webb and Lewis in East Tennessee. He met Jim Ford, and Jim needed an archaeologist. He came to Louisiana I would guess about 1935 or '36, because he'd been working in Tennessee. He was fortunate enough to marry a fine lady who devoted her entire life to remodeling him and failed miserably. He remained unreconstructed.

H: If you look at the archaeologists who were active, let's say in the 1930s, a great many them had been to the Kincaid camp and had their first archaeological—

Q: And gotten malaria and black water fever.

H: As a result we'd use the University Chicago's forms to fill out for our archaeological work.

Q: And really through the Southeastern Archaeological Conference.

R: How through the Southeastern Conference?

Q: We just invented them, the ones that were useful.

H: Yes. And every time we'd have an archaeological conference, someone would say, "Hey, I do so and so and so and so." And [they'd say], "Hey, that's a good idea." We gradually standardized them, so to speak.

Q: Yeah.

H: When the archaeological fieldwork moved to Kentucky in 1937, I left north Alabama and went back to Kentucky to ramrod that under Major Webb. That was a great disappointment to the Major. All the work on the Tennessee River down in west Kentucky was on late sites, Mississippian sites, where 99 percent of the material you carted home was potsherds. The Major was just very disdainful of pottery. I shouldn't really tell, forgive me, Major. The reason he distrusted pottery, he confided in me one night, he said, "Women make pottery." That's a fact. And I believed him.

Q: An unusual site was Irene Mound in Georgia. It had an excavation crew of about thirty black women and one white male in charge and one white female assistant. I think they had to have something like five different outdoor toilets to comply with state law.

H: I never saw or heard of a mixed crew. What was interesting about that Irene Mound crew is they dug in shells. They stepped on a shovel to get into those shells in their bare feet. They didn't need shoes. You could hear that bare foot hit the shell.

R: Let's see if we could talk a little while about Ford, seriation, chronology, and the ceramic repository. Let's start with Ford.

H: By sheer accident, James Ford was a student in high school at Watertown, Mississippi, when Henry B. Collins of the Smithsonian came to excavate a site, which later became known as the Deasonville site. He got a couple of high school kids to help him, James Ford and Moreau Chambers, both of whom were interested in history and were big boys, strong. Collins subsequently took Ford to Alaska with him.

So at a very early age Jim was already imbued with the scientific approach to archaeology. That's one thing that should really be brought out, that WPA archaeology was the first of what we might think of scientific archaeology, where the workers approached a site in a problem-oriented manner. Yes, it's true that Jim Ford learned how to work out percentages of different kinds of artifacts and how to relate those to time. His very first publication was one that was concerned with pottery typology, pottery's change through time, and how to use that material for constructing regional chronological charts. He did very well.

Q: And horizontal chronology. The succession of old beach lines in the arctic, where the oldest sites are up higher and the most recent sites are close to the water. And then the same thing in the succession of levees, which I think he first got from Fred Kniffen and, later, Fisk.

R: Ford brought you down to LSU to meet Fred. If he hadn't said this is a good place to come, would you have been as interested in LSU?

H: Oh, I guess so. I was at Ole Miss at the time. I don't mean to give the idea of the shakiness of my character. But you could not buy a bottle of beer in Oxford, Mississippi. In fact, it was forty-four and seven-tenths miles to the

nearest place that sold beer. Over seventy-seven miles to Memphis to buy reasonable drinking material. Jim and Phil Phillips were working in the Yazoo, this is when Albrecht was ill and had taken a leave. I really came down here on a temporary basis because Albrecht might have gotten well and come back. But in any event, Jim brought me down here, and we came in at the north end of town. The Cuban liquor store was on the scenic highway. We stopped there. I told him right then, I don't care what the salary is, I'll take the job.

Ole Miss was the happiest two years I ever had in the academic field. As a matter of fact, I was the first archaeologist at Ole Miss, but it was obvious that there were many more archaeological possibilities at LSU.

Jimmy Griffin established the ceramic repository at Michigan. We archaeologists in the field sent him samples of our pottery types. We conceived then that the ceramic repository was going to be a clearinghouse for the establishment of types. Jimmy and Jim Ford could see in a very short time that Jimmy and a few graduate students just could not do all that. In any event, that was the impetus that gave rise to the idea of the Southeastern Archaeological Conferences, of all practicing archaeologists getting together once a year.

R: Could you talk a little bit about how you physically typed these things? Did you just lay them out and follow a key? Or how did you actually do it?

H: Things that looked alike went in that pile. Things like that in that pile.

Q: It was that simple.

H: The fact of the matter is, as I delineated in an article on method changes in the last fifty years, about the only thing that has really come to dominate archaeological excavation is some kind of sampling technique. We didn't use any sampling technique at all. We just collected until our bags were full.

Q: And we didn't worry about worm action; we didn't have a specialist in worm action in middens.

H: But we did take soil samples from every burial, site, and . . .

R: Were those ever analyzed?

H: Yes, some of them were.

Q: Some, but not the way they would be today.

R: When you were Young Turks working in WPA archaeology, did your work change our concept of southeastern Indians?

H: Well, I'm positive that the most dramatic effect was the effect upon our concept of time. We didn't have any ideas of great antiquity. The preceding prehistorians and archaeologists had so knocked in the head any idea of ancient man in Kentucky and. . . . We did have a real impact on the idea of how much time we had available in the past to explain the changes and the vicissitudes that man had gone through here. I would say that that was the greatest.

Q: The biggest impact really was the chronology that was developed, the relative chronology, known to all of us who worked in the Southeast before the



Figure 1.2. James B. Griffin, director of the Museum and Ceramic Repository, University of Michigan. (Courtesy of Charles H. McNutt)

war. The thing that Martin, myself, and Collier wrote is really the first synthesis of all of eastern North America, and it's based on what the WPA did (Martin et al. 1947). Ditto for Jimmy Griffin's *Continuity and Change* (Griffin 1946) or whatever that one was, which he wrote about 1942, but it wasn't published until about '46. Also, Ford and Willey (Ford and Willey 1941).

H: Again, it wasn't that we were disdainful of those older writers. We really had an entirely new [stratigraphic] approach, and it's just the way I feel about these smart alecks who are working now. The Old Turks felt that way about us.

R: Could you just take a few minutes . . . and put Poverty Point into the perspective [of the Old and Young Turks]?

H: In 1951, James Ford and Phil Phillips and I dug at the Jaketown site in central Mississippi. The Mississippi Highway Department had dug a gigantic hole in the side of this site that went down about fourteen or fifteen feet. They were just getting dirt, building up a roadbed. At the very bottom there was a stratum that we had never seen the likes of before. There were these clay balls, numerous little microblades, plummets, and a variety of other artifacts.

The only thing we could remember was that Dr. Clarence Webb, here in Louisiana, had dug something similar at Poverty Point. So, we got him to come

over one Sunday and visit us there and look at the stuff and, well, sure—just like home. That's why, in 1953, Ford came over to Poverty Point. The upshot of it was that Ford decided that he'd better to do some extensive digging there.

Q: I was there at one point with Jim and Junius Bird who had invented that shaking machine that would sift. It ran off an old washing machine eccentric arm, and if you'd shovel into it, it would make Poverty Point objects if the clay was still wet. I dug a trench there and found a copper earspool. It turned out . . . to be Michigan type copper, same as you got in the Hopewell.

H: Jim had a big pyramidal tent set up there. He and his wife lived in a trailer, but Stu Neitzel and Junius Bird, from the American Museum of Natural History, lived in the tent. In April, when the weather was beginning to warm up, we had a gathering at Poverty Point. George came down, I guess from Michigan.

Q: No, it was Chicago then.

H: Chicago. Brought some students. Jimmy Griffin came from Michigan with . . . I know McNutt was one of his students. . . .

Q: Al Spaulding.

H: Al Spaulding was there and people from all over.

Q: And [Robert] Greengo came in; he was working then with Phil Phillips at Issaquena.

H: That's right—over at Yazoo. I also remember that that was the time at which Jim Ford and Al Spaulding were having a terrible diatribe about the nature of classification and what constituted a type.

R: That's during the Ford-Spaulding debate.

H: Yes. So that was going on at two, three o'clock in the morning. The next morning, everybody was hung over. Junius Bird was going to fly back to New York to get more money. A crop duster was going to fly him over to Vicksburg. We all went down to see him off. Here we were all standing around as the plane took off. Then the pilot turned back around and buzzed us—we were all dashing away. We all agreed that if that pilot just simply had not pulled out, Southeastern archaeology would've been wiped out. It again points up the idea of getting together and exchanging ideas. Clarence Webb was there with that group.

R: During WPA, was there any archaeological work in historic archaeology? If so, what kind?

Q: Well, certainly Bayou Goula site, IV¹¹. The upper level was historical and the level of that mound that was buried under four feet of silt, river silt. The Bayou Goula site itself was sort of a complicated site. I think Harvard has done a better job of explaining what was really there. Also, it was in Louisiana that I recognized that the kind of trade goods there were the same as what I saw at

Fort St. Joseph in Michigan, which was under the French, too. I was able to establish the fact that the Lower Valley was the same as the Upper Valley in terms of the trade goods under the French.

H: But the very fact that there was an ongoing ethnohistorical program is indicative of how there was a commitment to historical archaeology.

R: The younger archaeologists in our audience would like to know your reactions to the development of the New Archaeology.

Q: Oh, we paid no attention to that.

H: We will admit that in the 1930s *we* were the New Archaeologists. The only thing that the New Archaeologists, I mean the newer archaeologists, contributed was mathematical approaches to solving our problems. Most of us couldn't pass math.

Q: Yeah, that's why we went into archaeology.

H: We do realize that the salvation of American archaeology is the computer.

R: Yes, absolutely.

H: When we were the New Archaeologists, we looked upon the old ones in the way the brand New Archaeologists look upon us at times. Also, the old guard looked down on us the same way as we look down on them.

R: [It's a] cycle.

Q: It's a social law.

H: Evolution of culture.

R: Well, given that if you looked down on the New Archaeologists, I guess that means somebody like me, the same way that Guthe and Webb saw and looked down on you guys, then I am especially flattered that you'd do this for us. I thank you both from the bottom of my heart.

Q: Well, we'd do it anytime you want.

H: You ask us the same questions, we'll give you entirely different answers.

Notes

1. Seleucia and Ctesiphon were "twin cities" along the Tigris River in ancient Iraq (Kent Flannery, personal communication, August 1999).
2. King Mithradates II (123–91 B.C.) also known as Mithradates the Great or Mithradates the Magnificent (Kent Flannery, personal communication, August 1999).

2 Museum Paradigms and the History of Southeastern Archaeology

David S. Brose

Other chapters in this volume are reminiscences, personal views of the history of Southeastern archaeology from a single state or topic. The unique twists and turns along the track of knowledge are highlighted, as are the quirks and characteristics of those plotting the journey. Although such perspectives offer a remarkable intimacy, they run the danger of not seeing the forest for the trees. This chapter offers more of an aerial view; it is one way of picturing the terrain traversed that, although not depicting particular landmarks with the traditional view from the ground, I trust will be of some interest in helping voyagers recognize tectonic forces that helped shape the overall lay of the land.

For the past two centuries, museums have been crucial in the development of Southeastern archaeology. At the beginning of this period, museums stood alone as the institutions in which nearly all objects of biological, geological, archaeological, and ethnological wonder were collected and perused. Today, few museums are not closely articulated with, or even appendages to, institutions of general education, be it university or government agency. In somewhat parallel fashion, those same structural changes came to be represented in the institutions that undertook archaeological investigations in the southeastern United States. And, naturally, in addition to stimulating the accumulation and preservation of data, as those very shifts in the governing paradigms were occurring, museums subtly structured the information available for understanding the prehistory of this region.

As museums have come to serve increasingly varied audiences, they have come under increasingly intense public pressure to justify their archaeological collections and practices. Much of that angst has been predicated upon post-modern theory appropriated from other academic arenas, and soul searching may not be an adequate substitute for reevaluating the overall goals and con-

clusions of archaeology, even in *academe*. Surely the potential, if not the need, for even private university museums to respond to both their peers and their public may elicit the vision by which thoughtful museum archaeology can lead the broader discipline from anti-intellectual sterility.

I first came to know about parts of Southeastern archaeology as a teaching assistant for James Bennett Griffin in the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology in the late 1960s. It did not seem astonishing in those days that it was possible for a graduate student to gain a professional perspective, see most of the curated artifacts, and at least see most of the critical reports of rather large regions of the Southeast simply by visiting a limited number of museums. Only years later would I understand the costs and benefits that this offered the discipline.

This chapter speaks to what museums have contributed to Southeastern archaeology as a whole. In addition, I have concluded that every phase through which local museum scholarship has passed is still with us. I do not mean to suggest that, as it relates to Southeastern archaeology, museums resemble the Bourbon monarchy upon its restoration to France after the Revolution: “. . . they have learned nothing; they have forgotten nothing.”

Without question, the data museums have amassed and the positive technical contributions museums have made outweigh the outmoded concepts that the southern respect for tradition has long left to southeastern museum archaeology. Moreover, in the end, though public visibility of museums may seduce archaeology into accepting another contribution of doubtful utility, it seems more probable that museums will enable the discipline to take up the task of demonstrating that what archaeology does do well is relevant for the peoples of the Southeast.

It seems logical to begin by asking what museums are. The *Oxford Universal Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Onions 1933:1300) gives three definitions for “museum”:

Museum. Greek; seat of the muses. 1. The building at Alexandria erected by Ptolemy Soter; 2. A building dedicated to the pursuit of learning or the arts; 3. A building used for storing or exhibiting objects illustrative of antiquities, natural history, art, etc.

By midcentury the *Random House American College Dictionary* (Anon. 1955: 801) offered only one:

Museum. Gk; seat of the Muses. A building or place for the keeping and exhibition of works of art, scientific specimens, etc.

And the definitions of today’s *Americana Academic Encyclopedia* CD-ROM (Olander 1997) and the 1999 on-line version of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*

(<http://www.eb.com>) consist of an international list of exemplary institutions entirely focused on the collections they display to visitors. Yet this subtle conceptual loss over the last few generations, this absence of a museum as a place dedicated to the pursuit of learning, could never be applied to the museums in the history of Southeastern archaeology and cannot be applied to their role today.

Imagine, if you can, Southeastern archaeology without the work of the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History or the various programs undertaken by the Bureau of American Ethnology; Harvard and Yale Universities' Peabody Museums; the American and the Field Museums of Natural History; the George Heye Foundation; the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences; the American Antiquarian Society; the Gilcrease and McClung Museums; the museums, laboratories, and institutes of archaeology or anthropology at the Universities of Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi State, Missouri, North Carolina, and South Carolina; or the state museums of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, and Louisiana. These are museums in every sense of the word.

Although blessed with both gifted amateurs and dedicated university professors, no recognizable Southeastern archaeology would exist absent the work of Charles Baereis, Glen Black, David Bushnell, Joe Caldwell, Carl Chapman, Henry Collins, David deJarnette, Charles Fairbanks, James A. Ford, Jimmy Griffin, Ted Guthe, William Henry Holmes, James Keller, Art Kelly, Madeline Kneberg, Tom Lewis, Will McKern, Clarence Bloomfield Moore, Warren K. Moorehead, Nels Nelson, Phil Phillips, William Sears, Matthew Sterling, Robert Stevenson, John R. Swanton, Cyrus Thomas, Major Webb, or Charles Wiloughby: museum scholars and curators all. Museums gave Southeastern archaeology not only that honorable ancestry, now gone, but also an equally illustrious newer cadre: Jeffrey Brain, Jefferson Chapman, Wes Cowan, Hester Davis, Robert Dunnell, Bill Haag, Dick Marshall, Charles McGimsey, Dan Morse, Chris Peebles, George Quimby, John Walthall, Gordon Willey, and Steve Williams, to name only those I know myself. Indeed, museum archaeologists made up a good proportion of those attending recent meetings of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference but nothing like the preponderance there would have been fifty or even ten years ago. What, then, has changed, and should anyone be concerned?

In this volume are chapters by many archaeologists from those very museums that led in the recovery of important archaeological remains from the southeastern United States. The authors discuss, from personal experience and received doctrine, the direct contributions made by their own institutions. I will attempt to say something different, for if it is true that museums have stimulated Southeastern archaeology, it is also true that in the past muse-

ums collected archaeological data to satisfy their own objectives. Of course, through time those museum objectives changed as museums' roles in intellectual life partook of the scholarship and public opinion of its day. The impact of the changing museum objectives on the growth of archaeology as a discipline and on the corpus of archaeological data has not always been an unequivocal benefit. I will try to show how and why that happened.

The First Two Centuries of Museum Archaeology in the Southeast

For the late medieval mind, there could be no understanding of any natural phenomenon without identifying what Aristotle called its "final cause," the purpose for which it came into existence and toward which it was changing. Many historians have noted (DePratter 1986; Fischer 1970; Galloway 1993) that for all the burgeoning economic and political modernity of the Renaissance, the mental geography of those who first visited the Southeast for King or Queen or Pope remained surprisingly medieval in this respect. As Hayden White (1974, 1978a) has argued persuasively, those Europeans who opened the Western Hemisphere to Europe saw little beyond the otherness of the non-European societies they encountered, and their material culture appeared equally quaint (Huddleston 1967).

Yet less than a generation after their first visits, even as these Europeans were discovering the entire southeastern North American world, they were re-discovering their own past (Brose 2001; Ceram 1967; Sharer and Ashmore 1988). Cabinets of curios, which we would certainly have called museum collections, were begun to satisfy the antiquarian interests marking the properly schooled courtier. Soon, New World archaeological and ethnographic objects joined those acquired to reveal the arts of the ancient world. Not surprisingly, in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century "museums" filled with object lessons in teleology, ancient American societies and their exemplary (*sensu stricto*) artifacts were seen through conceptual lenses shaped by the new scholarship in the Old and New Testaments and the Classics (cf. Silverberg 1968; Stoltman 1973; Thomas 1989; Williams 1991a).

So when Southeastern archaeology began in southwestern Alabama, it was directed to satisfying just such museum-inspired scholarly objectives. Late in the year 1702, Pierre LeMoyne, Sieur d'Iberville, with an Indian guide visited an island in the Mobile delta (Walthall and Emerson 1982). Perhaps it was one of the mounds of the Bottle Creek site and perhaps not. What is certain is that this archaeological expedition was designed to augment the Parisian cabinet of the learned king of France with two statues taken from a "pagan shrine."

A view of archaeology as purveyor of objects for art history soon took form

and still thrives in art museums across the world (Sharer and Ashmore 1988). Once they had outgrown their mistaken fascination with dinosaurs, art museums' approach to Egypt and the Classic civilizations set North America's stereotypic concept of what archaeology is like (cf. Indiana Jones). Yet this museum heritage has also contributed to Southeastern archaeology a unique and deep perspective on the meaning and cultural context of artifacts and behaviors in many of the most important southeastern archaeological sites (cf. Brose et al. 1985; Forbes 1964; Galloway 1993). Museum concentration on the particular object has provided a constant leavening to the flat, personless view of objects as the product of cultural evolution alone (e.g., Fundaburk and Foreman 1957 vs. Smith 1990).

Perhaps most important, the narrow museum perspective of the remains of the past as exemplar constrained coeval accounts of the societies responsible for the archaeological record of the Southeast. It let our only direct reports of late Mississippian societies come to us indistinctly through a haze of Homeric or patriarchal tropes appropriate for the Bronze Age of the eastern Mediterranean (Brose 2001; White 1974, 1978b). In so doing, the early museum contribution to Southeastern archaeology limited the variety of the New World cultures to what had been surmised about those of the ancient world (Barton 1799; Fischer 1970; Forbes 1964). Interestingly enough, this remarkably inappropriate perspective on Southeastern archaeology was being reinvigorated just about the same time I started in the profession at Ann Arbor—and in Miltonic fashion was attributed to a scholar lately fallen from grace in that very institution (cf. Watson et al. 1971).

Clearing the Land and Clearing the Air

The national American movement to the Old Southwest Territory opened vast tracts of land in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As exploration and exploitation of raw materials changed to settlement and agriculture across the Southeast, the American Indians changed from competitors to curiosities (Brose 1991; DePratter 1986; Willey and Sabloff 1974). Because the siting criteria of eighteenth-century nonmilitary settlements across the Southeast pointed to many locations that had earlier been chosen to satisfy the slightly different criteria of the latest Native Americans, St. Augustine, Tallahassee, Charleston, Mobile, Natchez, St. Louis, New Orleans, Cincinnati, all yielded late prehistoric archaeological remains (Silverberg 1968). It was a poor city, indeed, whose learned societies could not display to the traveler its collection of such curios (Brose 2001; Stoltman 1973; Williams 1991a).

Those drawn to work in the nineteenth-century civic museums not only collected and arranged artifacts but also were collecting and arranging the fast-

disappearing languages of North America's earlier occupants (Fitzhugh 1984; Washburn 1988). With the mind-set of the Enlightenment, and the apparent successes of European philology, evidence of the Indian's history was sought with the light of ancient Frankish, Teutonic, or Celtic studies (Ceram 1967). As Gibbon put it in 1778, "There is not anywhere upon the globe a large tract of country which we have discovered destitute of inhabitants, or whose first population can be fixed with any degree of historical certainty. And yet, as the most philosophical minds can seldom refrain from investigating the infancy of great nations, our curiosity consumes itself in toilsome and disappointed efforts" (Gibbon 1963 [1788]:1:188–189).

It would be hard to overstate the immense effect on the direction taken by Southeastern archaeology due to the hybridized museum-contributed idea that one should study prehistoric cultural relationships by tracing linguistic relationships and that archaeology should "ground truth" those speculations by discovering material evidence of the routes of those alleged connections (cf. Galloway 1993; Silverberg 1968; Williams 1991a). A sometime stubborn adherence to this self-estimation of archaeology as handmaiden of historical linguistics gave Southeastern archaeology a reputation for quaint irrelevance in most academic circles—a reputation that persisted (albeit not openly discussed) when I first entered the field, just as it persists in some academic museum circles in the region today.

Other Exercises in Victorian Archaeology

For many museum scholars of the nineteenth century, understanding biological and human phenomena involved being able to place them properly along that continuum of the material and spiritual worlds Thomas Lovejoy called the Great Chain of Being. This vision of the ordered, bounded, and filled universe (Gruber 1985), with clearly defined hierarchies everywhere, stimulated rich and powerful museums across Europe to fill their galleries in emulation of the world and its past.

The insight of a Copenhagen museum curator, that the products of technology reflected chronological stages, led to the museum-imposed concept of technological primacy. This was reflected in the organization of artifact cases in every museum in northern Europe; in museums in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington; and in the halls of Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (Sharer and Ashmore 1988; cf. Willey and Sabloff 1974). It was certainly reflected in artifact cases sitting in scores of scientific and historical societies across the eastern United States, especially those of the post-Civil War South, where hierarchical Eurocentric interpretations of history never surrendered (Brose 1991; Williams 1991a) and where fascination with the artifacts and ar-

chitecture of revered local ancestors was to give rise to what would in succeeding decades be called historical archaeology (Brose 1969). Also, it appears that it was from this museumlike context that the conceptual linkage of technology and chronology, first designed to organize museum displays, came to represent inevitable stages of human development, and these, in turn, became the framework for understanding the prehistory of the world (cf. Grayson 1985). With such a perspective, it seemed natural that at some point Southeastern archaeology would be able to fill a gap in its picture of prehistoric cultures with evidence resembling the Neolithic of the Old World. It took more than a century to demonstrate that the very concept of Neolithic was inapplicable to the southeastern United States. Like a missing tooth, its "absence" troubled many scholars, and, as Williams (1991a) so engagingly recounts, misled more than a few of them.

Again, incorrectly buttressed by superficial similarities and naive enthusiasms, that persistent nonlocal view of American prehistory noted above was also a museum legacy of astonishing vitality. It sprouted from southern soil again and again, like a ring of poisonous mushrooms, in speculative works from James Adair and Constantine Rafinesque to Joseph Smith and C. C. Jones. Yet the very flourish of that perspective beyond the Civil War was responsible for much early systematic archaeological work in the region. Chiefly, the Bureau of American Ethnology's Mound Exploration program (perhaps all the more museumlike after having been excluded from the National Museum of Natural History) mapped and dug into hundreds of Woodland and Mississippian mounds across the Southeast to demonstrate their New World origins and the validity of American ethnological interpretations (Stoltman 1973; Willey and Sabloff 1974). That, too, is a museum contribution still being used in these later days.

Good Enough for Government Work

As Stoltman's short but insightful 1973 article noted, the broader Southeastern importance of BAE archaeology, although not really forgotten, dropped below the level of professional view as state-level surveys filled the archaeological cabinets of formal and informal state museums in the xenophobic decades between the sinking of the Maine and the sinking of Wall Street. The impact of the federal government and regional museums for the archaeology of the southeastern United States rose again to national recognition with the various federal relief agencies of the 1930s and the River Basin Surveys projects of the 1950s (Brose 1985; Brose and Munson 1987).

From the perspective of the federal government, Southeastern archaeology offered the not-unrelated benefits of putting large numbers of relatively un-

employable adults to work while producing no product of any real economic value. What possible business would feel threatened by the dirty work of collecting boxes of broken archaeological objects from backcountry places (Smith 1990; Stoltman 1973; Willey and Sabloff 1974)? State versus state and state versus federal agency turf wars blossomed under the fertilizing effect of public funding as the “neutral and dispassionate” public universities lobbied to glean the harvest and to house the gleanings.

As Lyon (1996) has shown, of those universities chosen, few had any kind of anthropology or archaeology program capable of meeting the needs of projects that far outgrew the year or two planned to bring back national prosperity. The most easily transmuted academic institutions were those in which archaeologists followed the leads of colleagues in biological or earth sciences who were managing teaching collections. Although few universities had formal museums, most had an assortment of local “relics.” Unfortunately, the vast assemblages of archeological data accumulated to delineate ancient societies in time and space were too often housed in temporary, inadequate facilities. The too-frequent solution chosen by those trained in the management of noncultural collections was to apply the unspoken museum practice of high-grading. “One for you, one for me, one for the museum of history,” as the anonymous ditty goes. This was the dark side of museums’ contribution, matched by their caring about provenance and their mind-benumbing concern for record keeping, without which little modern archaeology could be justified.

Also unhappily, in most museums that dealt largely with natural history, whoever served as the anthropology department curator was the runt of the paradigmatic litter (cf. Brose 1993a). An unfortunate result of this was what I call “the Tyranny of Taxonomic Priority.” Archaeological objects, then industrial complexes, then even prehistoric cultures were forced to conform to hallowed principles of biological nomenclature where the names of species are determined by detailed comparison to first-described, museum-housed type specimens and their identifying dimensions (McKern 1939; Willey and Philips 1958). Museums, or sometimes mere museum archaeologists possessing artifacts from eponymous archaeological sites, have become arbiters of what shall be included in the prehistoric southeastern cultures’ prehistoric cultures, [re]-constructed upon all-too-hazy interpretations of those types and sites. This situation has forced archaeological materials from major prehistoric centers in core cultural regions to be described or defined in terms of what later could be seen to be ephemeral material or marginal sites (cf. O’Brien and Lyman 1999b). Interpreting the complex Mississippian societies of the lower Black Warrior/Alabama River systems and western Gulf Coast in terms of a Pensacola “culture” is only the closest example of this problem bequeathed to Southeastern archaeology by the taxonomic mind-set of museums chiefly established to list a region’s biota or “species” of useful minerals.

To confuse the issue further, few state-funded museums seemed able to get around the Platonic overtones of the idea of the Virginia Deer and the Carolina Wren. Pride in naming created spurious cultural structures with historical and spatial parameters based on the carelessly named lithic or ceramic types claimed to be their products. These differed in unspecified ways from similar cultural creations just over the ridge or across the river. Perhaps the analyses of broader, semicontinental attribute distributions without preconceived temporal and spatial limits can overcome this failing (cf. Brose 1993b). The Bell Beaker folk remind us of that long-respected British Museum tradition by which living, breathing cultures (often replete with specific languages) can be easily built up from prehistoric artifact attributes without much intervening information (Ceram 1967; Lyman et al. 1997; Williams 1991a). Certainly this illustrates how the recognition of locally and temporally bounded sets of broadly distributed attributes may inspire the concoction of poorly documented, millennia-long, museum-spawned cultures such as Deptford, the Godzilla of Southeastern archaeology.

Another legacy inherited from the propinquity of biological science curators and Southeastern archaeologists during the mid-twentieth century was the mixed blessing of seeing prehistoric cultures as biological analogues, replete with vital processes such as growth, homeostasis, death, and progeny. To discuss cultural evolution was only one small step down what seemed to some a slippery slope. Many more have come to believe worse of the parallel museum thinking behind McKern's Midwest Taxonomic Method: In his personal reminiscences of its initiation in 1929–1930, Alton Fisher made it clear that what was explicitly sought was a morphologically based classification system for the plethora of newly discovered prehistoric cultures. It was to be a system into which unknown temporal, developmental, and evolutionary considerations could not be incorporated, but it would be a system from which (in some hopefully Linnaean way) temporal, developmental, and evolutionary considerations could be elucidated. To merely agree with Johnson (1993) that another museum-devised ceramic type-variety system took precedence in the Southeast after the 1940s overlooks the profound influence the earlier museum paradigm had on archaeological thinking throughout the eastern United States (Brose 1993a, 2001).

Construction of a Modern Museum Archaeology

Perhaps it was no coincidence that the 1960s saw the reintroduction of social anthropology to American archaeology and the promulgation of a flurry of new federal acts and orders for environmental quality and historic preservation. As many have argued (Sharer and Ashmore 1988; Stoltzman 1973; Willey and Sabloff 1974; Williams 1991a), these and other social developments af-

fecting Southeastern archaeology were intellectually grounded in a pragmatic American version of British logical positivism, adopted in philosophical validation of cold war solidarity (White 1978b). Characteristic of this era in which archaeology strove to abandon its humble origins among the humanities, specialized social and natural sciences with sophisticated analytical equipment and statistical modeling optimistically promised predictions of past and future. Although some might question the relevance of this philosophical approach to archaeology—especially to Southeastern archaeology—it became the postwar model for SCIENCE. Moreover, although southeastern museums with or without academic ties often continued to structure archaeological recovery and interpretation in older organic modes (often for slow-to-change agencies such as the River Basin Surveys), modern, philosophically correct SCIENCE was increasingly needed if institutions were to be viewed as purveyors of higher education (and therefore to have programs, storage, and reports fundable under the aegis of agencies such as the National Science Foundation). Southeastern archaeology in the 1970s was determined, if at all possible, to be scientific (cf. Brose 1993a).

In addition, beyond the organizational model or the paradigms, many of the amazing nonmilitary technological developments of SCIENCE were also applied to prehistory, drawing diets and dates and diseases from old archaeological collections across the country, especially from those immense, still incompletely curated collections made by federal workers from the Southeast. Thus, whether in or out of museums, university archaeologists were enjoined to collect archaeological objects as scientifically validated samples representing significant past environmental and cultural phenomena. Indeed, this was the era in which many university anthropology departments underwent a soul searching so profound that archaeology was shifted into museums held in the same department but at arms length. In only two North American universities did the strains between anthropology and archaeology break into new departments. Few, perhaps, were the Southeastern archaeologists who entertained any assurance they ever would generate “lawlike” scientifically valid predictions (or, more accurately, retrodictions) of human behavior and its evolution (e.g. Watson, LeBlanc, and Redman 1971). Though there were a few exceptions, the larger independent and academically linked museums working in the region through the 1960s and 1970s became the generally accepted model of what progressive archaeology in the Southeast should be like even for state or federal agencies.

Perhaps due to the immense costs of “gearing up” for what became huge interdisciplinary archaeological projects funded by National Science Foundation grants or performed as federal agency compliance, these new studies of large southeastern collections and new excavations at large southeastern ar-

chaeological sites were largely conducted by well-endowed private university museums and wealthy industrial university-linked museums from every part of the northern United States. The University of Tennessee's McClung Museum was an obvious exception—possibly due to the linkages to the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Oak Ridge facility built during the Manhattan Project (Brose 1991; Stoltman 1973). Brief review of professional symposia delivered at national archaeology meetings during the 1970s and early 1980s suggests that expensive interdisciplinary archaeology was “where the action was.”

And to tell the truth, the results of projects such as FAI-270; the Green River Shell Mounds; the Powers phase; the Columbia, Tellico, Cannon, Upper Coosa, Altamaha, or R. B. Russell Reservoirs; St. Catherine's Island; and the Tenn-Tom Waterway and dozens of similar projects would have been previously unimaginable without such academically “correct” federal support. The scale of evidence and the scope of data recovered by such archaeological investigations must be one of the major contributions museums made to archaeology anywhere, and they were mostly made in the southeastern United States. I was not their only acolyte in those days, but it is easy now to see that the religious fervor that underlay their approach was largely the dogma of the true believer. Also, although most northern museums hired southeastern students and many sought southern institutions as partners, it is no overstatement to say that one significant but distasteful contribution to Southeastern archaeology from this emphasis on big, museum-linked projects was a decade or more of graduate student flight from southern institutions of higher learning.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Millennial Southeast Archaeology

Today, in carrying on their educational mandates, many museums and museumlike agency repositories throughout the Western Hemisphere are succumbing to a WPA-like temptation to be seen as the jealous guardians of an array of archaeological data recovered from hundreds of small, humble endeavors in every corner of the region in which they occur (viz. Lyon 1996). Southeastern museums have shown they are neither unique nor exempt from this tendency, although in the years I served the Society for Professional Archaeologists there seemed to be more such cultural resource management projects in the Southeast than elsewhere in the United States.

Often representing only the simplest levels of investigation, the sheer bulk and scatter of these data offer opportunities for the statistical analysis of broad patterns of prehistoric ebbs and flows that almost no one has exploited. If these are truly baseline cultural data critical for humanity's future, as they have been touted to those asked to pay for their curation, then modern museums need to

mine those data to study culture change and socialization just as natural history museums have mined the data in their systematic biological collections to study climate change and speciation.

Although there have been striking and successful examples in the region, unfortunately these have been too few. Rather than leaping to offer this kind of socially relevant anthropological contribution to Southeastern archaeology, many southeastern museums have either closed their collections to the general public or have opted for rather selective community empowerment; both strategies seem to have been adopted chiefly to justify the growth and retention of traditional museum archaeological collections in the face of a lack of imagination in the discipline or as an attempt to stave off publicly endorsed repatriation.

Nearly all American museums have recently come to recognize that they survive at the whim of a rather fickle public. No doubt it is their sense of previous public missions gone awry that has led many museum archaeologists to countenance some of the least attractive self-promoting aspects of populist presentations of prehistory, differing from reclusive deconstructive British academics in all but the most important result: the generation of enormous public distrust. Fortunately, there seem to be few southeastern museums whose eye is so focused on the admissions desk as to contribute archaeology from the perspective of Welshmen, academic anthropologists, federal agencies, women, Native Americans, colonial first families, state or even county governments, and hands-on entertainment industries. And yet, within the limited area this volume takes to represent the Southeast every one of these points of view appears to have been welcomed somewhere, and nowhere in the region has there been a cogent argument made that any one of these perspectives should seem privileged.

There has been no lack of museums studying ethnoarchaeology to alert the profession to consider with humility all of the vectors that intervene in transforming the material remains of past people into the data available to the archaeologist. Nor is there any unfilled demand for postmodern essays reminding us that the past is a foreign place, a place so strange that history or archaeology must design its own visas to be able visit it, a place from which history and archaeology can return with nothing but censored descriptions written in code to conceal the fact that they can be little more than reformatted stories of the present. That circumspection can be of real value. The danger to continuing Southeastern archaeology at all is that in today's museums archaeology is generally appointed to lead the public soul searching, museums (and any other such repository) is being called upon to display in order to survive the ire of a poorly informed public because they hold and interpret objects that they never made. Yet old objects and the non-ethnocentric information they may reveal

remain our best clues to the geologically recent past. The hope is that museums can find the will to rethink their discipline critically and, as they have done in the past, bind their cause into the intellectual life of their day.

Perhaps it was the poor aesthetic sensibilities of the late prehistoric occupants of this region that stifled the art historians' pleasure of illustrating each and every piece recovered archaeologically (Williams 1991a). At any rate, following soon on the earliest descriptions of sites and artifacts, museums contributed theoretical cultural classifications of Southeastern archaeological remains shaped, in part, by coeval political agendas (cf. Thomas 1989). They did that many times over the centuries in which Southeastern archaeology developed, and they continue to do so. Yet in so doing, museums have expanded the scale and productivity of Southeastern archaeology even as they set international standards. The southeastern United States has been the field in which museums have made their greatest methodological contributions to archaeology since Sir Flinders Petrie invented seriation (Sharer and Ashmore 1988).

As they say in the Carolina hills, lovin' don't last, cookin' do. Among the many things to be learned by working at Southeastern archaeology as museums have done is the fact that although cutting-edge theory may not last, carefully collected and curated data do. That priceless museum contribution, and the ever-present public interest that archaeology has lived with in the South, has guided Southeastern archaeology through the past century at a less-than-breakneck pace. Those contributions, and the tradition of southern respect for tradition, can be the raw materials from which museums will carry archaeology proudly into the new millennium.

3 **Forty Years of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex**

James A. Brown

A retrospective has its inherent vantage point, and mine begins with some formative experiences at Etowah. In the summer of 1957 A. R. Kelly hired me as a crew supervisor for his ongoing excavations at Mound B. This operation was on the opposite side of a small plaza from Mound C. Here Lew Larson was conducting his own well-publicized project. Our goal for the summer was to recover ceramic collections in stratigraphic context. At the time A. R. Kelly regarded the plaza-edge foot of Mound B as covering the sequence from Late Etowah through Wilbanks and into Lamar. The structures we recovered were regarded then (and confirmed by subsequent research) as broadly contemporary with the elite graves from Mound C.

For me that summer was very eventful. It was my first archaeological experience in the Deep South, and one of the highlights of that year was a visit by Antonio Waring to lend a hand with Lew. It was an annual event for Waring that let him get back to field archaeology. Naturally, it included an evening bull session. And just as inevitable, the subject turned to the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC), which to me had an aura of mystery about it. As I recall, Tono had definite views on the subject, ones to which I, as the questioning graduate student (I had just completed work for a master's at the University of Chicago) voiced skepticism. The discussion of the evening floated more questions than we had answers, but the encounter left me with a firm appreciation for Waring's perspective, a fact that I have continued to acknowledge in my work since.

In the meantime, my own perception of priorities has changed as those of so many in the discipline as a whole. In 1957 the task of systematizing the seemingly endless variety of material culture dominated professional goals. To me, many of the problems were ones that could be answered mainly by the appro-

prate kind of fieldwork, although this agenda for discovery had to be informed by a social anthropological perspective that visualized the concrete in terms of the global ethnographic record. Nowadays, I am more likely to reverse the priorities, according greater importance to intellectual preparation. Nevertheless, I still believe we have not excavated enough.

Later, I became engaged again with the SECC when I was hired by Robert Bell to implement his National Science Foundation grant to study and analyze the materials from the Spiro site recovered under WPA auspices. The project started in 1963 and continued with support from a project renewal grant for another two years. This experience placed me in a position to appreciate what we might call the western perspective, largely Spiro-based and well known through Krieger's (1945) writings. This was quite different from the eastern, largely Etowah-based, perspective articulated so well by Waring (1968a). In that view the "classic" expression of the SECC appeared suddenly, whereas at Spiro there was a long, drawn-out sequence of shell and copper items. Acknowledging the mediating effects of social and cultural prescription can accommodate both of these views.

One of the involvements of Spiro site research was an interest in Mississippian period iconography. Jon Muller paid a visit to the University of Oklahoma labs at the then Stovall Museum in 1964. He spent some time taking Polaroid shots of much of the engraved shell. He was quite enthusiastic about his own project focusing on a stylistic analysis of shell gorgets. I didn't realize it at the time, but this was the beginning of a long collaboration with Phil Phillips of Harvard on a project inspired by Jon's shots of the large number of unpublished engraved shells from Spiro. As Phil Phillips stated, "This was our first awareness of the amount of unpublished Spiro shell in museums and collections all over the country. It completely changed the character of the project. [There was] no possibility of looking into larger issues until these Spiro materials had been adequately sampled" (Phillips and Brown 1975:Preface).

My association with Phil's Spiro engraved shell project was most intense in the late 1960s and early 1970s leading up to the publication of the first three of six folio volumes (Phillips and Brown 1975). Few could match his contagious enthusiasm for the subject. I recall an important event—his visit to Norman, Oklahoma, to lay the groundwork for expanding the shell rubbing work to the Stovall Museum collection. In Phil's motel room, Bob Bell and I were regaled with his portfolio of rubbings acquired up to that time, mainly from eastern collections. Although both of us had personally handled the shell in the museum's holdings and had used Lathiel Duffield's (1964) master's thesis as an important guide, we were unprepared for what Phil had to show us. For the first time we began to see systematic differences in form and content that fairly leaped from the mounting boards once the material was organized with style



Figure 3.1. Opening of “A Shell Game” exhibit at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, May 15, 1980. Pictured left to right: Eliza McFadden, Richard Bartlett (director of publications), Phil Phillips, Jim Brown, Barbara Page, and Jeff Brain. This show was the first public display of the Spiro shell rubbings of Eliza and Barbara. (Courtesy of Harvard Peabody Museum; photograph by Hillel Burger)

in mind. Nuances of line and composition, structure, and organization now impressed us as equally important as iconographic subject matter. Indeed, the sheer diversity of the collection began to take on shape in light of these stylistic considerations.

A word here is required to acknowledge the importance of Eliza McFadden in this project. For many who have enjoyed the plates in the folio volumes (Phillips and Brown 1975, 1979, 1980, 1983), she was the masterful technician who worked out the procedures that made the rubbings of curved surfaces intelligible on a flat plane. She worked diligently to assemble thousands of scraps into reconstructed shell compositions. As critical to the project as these accomplishments were, however, Eliza had an even more important role in promoting the views of an artist and someone trained in the principles of art history.

Coming from the outside with no prior conceptions of what this material should or should not signify, she kept us from straying into typological way-

sides that made no stylistic sense. Even before I joined the project, Phil intended Eliza to be coauthor out of recognition to her contributions. Indeed, until practically the moment of printing, the authorship was to be Phillips, McFadden, and Brown. Her pulling out provoked a minor crisis. That unfortunate development aside, however, I think it is fair to say, and Phil would be the first to agree, that much of the work's intellectual success could be attributed to her wise counsel informed by training and experience outside of Americanist archaeology.

Since that time I have been privileged to have participated in the iconographic workshops that Kent Reilly and Jim Garber have organized, initially under the umbrella of Linda Schele's Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop. Now separated organizationally, it nonetheless carries forward her vision of iconographic analysis on a body of materials outside of Mesoamerica that begs for attention. The rich collection of images of more than one thousand pieces put together by the Shell Engraving Project made possible a credible stylistic organization, and it paved the way for iconographic studies to follow.

Looking back on the subject I can discern four historical developments that I plan to take up here: (1) the systematization of our knowledge of the existing data, a modest expansion through new excavations, and the exploration of new site sources, e.g., rock art and cave glyphs; (2) the growing importance of social analysis of Mississippian period burial patterning through the distribution of display goods and preciosities among the dead; (3) the all-important rise in the significance of style in the SECC; and (4) the growing acknowledgment of the civilization-defining qualities of this body of material through an appreciation for the aesthetic qualities of key objects.

Systematization, Expansion, and New Exploration

Among the developments that have taken place since 1957 has been a strong reengagement with the SECC archaeological record. Lewis Larson (1971, 1989) discovered in the course of testing the remains of Mound C at Etowah that a substantial grave record remained untouched by the earlier digging by Warren K. Moorehead.

As a result of these fresh investigations, Antonio Waring Jr. (1968b), one of the "fathers" of the SECC, revised his ideas respecting the mortuary connections of the "Cult." Exploration of the SECC here and elsewhere took off in the following decades. At Etowah work expanded to include Mound B (mentioned earlier) and other locations throughout the site. Out of this work at Mound B came Adam King's (1991, 1994) important refinement of site chronology. As another important step in putting together the site's archaeology Jeff Brain succeeded in integrating the earlier work by Moorehead and the

Smithsonian Institution into evidence acquired by Lewis Larson (Brain and Phillips 1996).

Moundville and Spiro, the other two of the “Big Three” SECC sites, were not left out. The shutdown of all the WPA projects in 1941 meant that a great deal of information gathered during the 1930s remained unstudied. In the case of Moundville, Chris Peebles (1979) provided the first comprehensive, detailed overview of the Moundville excavations. His dissertation (Peebles 1974) started a long line of studies on the site and its core area. Much of this focused research has been synthesized in *Archaeology of the Moundville Chiefdom* (Knight and Steponaitis 1998).

Three years of WPA work at the Spiro site left a considerable record to study. The old excavations were a source of detailed analyses (Brown 1996; Rogers 1983; Wyckoff 1980). In addition to Phil Phillips’s engraved shell study, textiles (Kuttruff 1993) and copperwork (Hamilton et al. 1974) have been foci of additional surveys.

All of this work has led to a systematization of knowledge that has provided a foundation for all sorts of analyses, including some not envisioned by archaeologists in the 1950s. These efforts were enhanced by new data, such as the Lake Jackson discoveries, that have augmented the older record (Jones 1982). Comprehensive stocktaking has allowed scholarly access to the large corpus of SECC material. Iconographic resources in marine shell, copper, and stone work survey were put together by Phillips and Brown (1975). Engraved shell gorgets were thoroughly surveyed by Brain and Phillips (1996). Other overviews have appeared in the meantime (e.g., Brain and Phillips 1996; Brown and Kelly 2000; Phillips and Brown 1975; Smith 1989).

The application of radiometric analysis to major sites of the SECC, including Etowah, Moundville, Spiro, Key Marco, Cahokia, Lake Jackson, and many other sites, has offered the promise of anchoring local chronologies, thereby making it possible to place the SECC preciosities and display goods into various sequences of social and economic development rather than simple cultural complexes (Brown and Rogers 1999).

The Importance of Social Analysis

An unanticipated benefit of the systematic study of Etowah, Moundville, and Spiro was the application of a sociological perspective to the distribution of grave goods among the dead (J. Brown 1971, 1981, 1996; Larson 1971, 1989; Peebles 1971; Peebles and Kus 1979). This mortuary sociology fed into strong claims pertaining to the strength of the chiefdom evolutionary level in precontact Southeast. No longer could the SECC be thought of as simply the complex of display goods or paraphernalia of a cult. Rather, these objects have

assumed a social and economic weight when placed in the context of intergrave differences. This importance was shared by preciosities hitherto excluded from cultic relevance (Brown 1976; Prentice 1987). The outstanding application by Peebles and Kus (1979) is the most complete and satisfying to date and is the one through which the SECC and southeastern chiefdoms are widely known outside the Southeast (Steponaitis 1991). Research initiated by Peebles at Moundville had an active role in advancing the value of applying the chiefdom concept in the Eastern Woodlands.

Likewise, the subject matter revealed by SECC imagery has promoted a sociological and nontaxonomic perspective (e.g., Brown 1975, 1976; Emerson 1997; Knight 1986; Pauketat and Emerson 1991). Brown (1976) drew attention to the prowess in fighting that the birdman imagery conveyed and to the importance of the utilitarian weaponry as socially recognized display goods, such as the chipped stone mace, long chert bifaces, monolithic axes, and even the copper bi-lobed arrow.

Knight (1986) organized the ritual objects and iconography of the SECC into socially constituted cult institutions. In a sociological sense these cults are divided into types based on the amount of power over the community vested in them and on the exclusivity of the group controlling and participating in cult rituals (Brose et al. 1985). The role of comparable artifacts and associated imagery has been interpreted as instruments for political domination (Emerson 1989, 1997; Pauketat and Emerson 1991).

The realization that networks of trade have been responsible for the dispersion of SECC objects was slow to emerge. Waring and Holder (1945) dismissed the role of trade as having an important effect on the distribution by declaring that the differences among the “Big Three” assemblages was due to the influence of local cultural traditions. The response was not long in coming. In his commentary on Henry Hamilton’s inventory of Spiro objects in public and private collections, Griffin (1952c) showed that a substantial number of look-alike objects of copper and marine shell linked Spiro with Cahokia and sites in Florida. Brown (1989) argued that trade had to account for the joint appearance of different styles, sometimes within the same gravelot (or style traditions in Phillips’s terms [Brain and Phillips 1996]).

The identification of style homelands is made possible through a match of style in copperwork and shell engraving with engraving on ceramic containers that have a built-in source in paste characteristics. Muller’s (1989) analysis of several styles of shell gorgets completes our expectations of what a distribution of objects should be if they were part of a wide-flung trade network.

The scope, volume, and vehicles of trade have been an ongoing matter of discussion (Brown, Kerber, and Winters 1990; Hall 1991; King and Freer 1995; Muller 1995; Peregrine 1995). There are good reasons to think, however, that the

volume was not high, nor did it signify the level of intersocietal economic dependency that many have concluded (Muller 1997a).

Spiro is an excellent example of an assemblage that was pooled from diverse sources. Locally or regionally produced items are almost swamped by the sheer number of nonlocal objects, from the Appalachian east and from Cahokia and the American Bottom (J. Brown 1983, 1997). The vast engraved shell collection that has colored so much of what the SECC consists of turns out at Spiro to comprise roughly a third, the Braden style, derived from Cahokia (Brown and Kelly 2000), to say nothing of the occasional gorget from the East (Brain and Phillips 1996).

The Significance of Style

A more fundamental rejection of the typological approach came in the form of stylistic analyses of SECC imagery and the treatment of such imagery as iconography. Waring and Holder (1945) crystallized the SECC as a taxon by defining it by fifty-one traits and eighteen trait variants. Although this formulation was modified in 1954, the conception and its theoretical underpinnings remained intact (Waring 1968a,b,c).

Nonetheless, the task of typifying the SECC was not as straightforward as defining any natural taxon. One reason is that the lead archaeologists held conflicting views as to what was being defined. The conflict emerged most clearly when ceremonial items did not fit within a narrow chronological span (as in the case of chunkee stones, undecorated earspools, and mask gorgets [Waring 1968c]) or when objects of obvious value such as pearl beads are neglected altogether (Brown 1976). Waring (1968a) had his own vision of the “classic cult” of Wilbanks Phase Etowah as a realization of the ethnic emergence of the Muskogee late in the Mississippian period. Krieger (1945) advocated a second view in which each local tradition incorporated Mesoamerican elements differently. Jimmy Griffin (1952c) held to a third. To him the SECC was not to be compressed into the late end of the Mississippian period. It was essentially coterminous with the entire period, having connections with preexisting Hopewellian objects. The distribution of the SECC in time and space was accounted for by interregional trade and “individual artisans ability and the particular mode of tribal interpretation of a widespread cosmology” (Griffin 1952c:105). It is Griffin’s perspective that has grown with time, particularly with the application of theoretical perspectives that make the SECC objects into materializations of sanctified messages in the interest of social, political, and economic interests of the elite.

Jim Knight’s (1986) critique of the typological set the stage for subsequent

analysis, much of it dependent on the application of stylistic analysis and an iconographic approach to SECC imagery. For instance, the matter of style is critical to issues of trade. When Waring and Holder (1945) spoke of style, they expressed it in terms of types of imagery, not in terms that would be closer to a generative definition that is regarded by most students of the problem as a basic operation procedurally leading to stylistic products and productions of all kinds (Dobres and Hoffman 1994). Jon Muller was the first to break with the dominant taxonomic perspective in his dissertation on SECC shell gorget style delineation (represented most completely in Muller 1979). His analysis of shell gorget styles was an outgrowth of a seminar, "Stylistic Analysis as an Archaeological Method," led by Phil Phillips (Williams 1978). He clearly distinguished his grammatical approach from a taxonomic clustering of attributes.

A number of styles have coexisted within the complex. The variety of graphic expression in the SECC identified by Krieger (1945), Waring (1968a), and Waring and Holder (1945) turns out on subsequent analysis to have constituted organizational properties of the styles involved. Parsing them from the general mass has been the key to achieving some semblance of order in the SECC. Style in the sense used here (and by Muller 1966, 1979; Phillips and Brown 1975) and "stylistic traditions" (Brain and Phillips 1996) have often been mixed up with type at the expense of losing some of the advantages of stylistic analysis.

Although the stylistic perspective has attracted increasing interest, it has been slow to displace typological thinking, which lingers with the reassertion of style as a kind of type (Muller 1997b). A number of contributions indicate the fertility of a stylistic perspective (Brown 1989; Brown and Rogers 1989; Esarey 1990; Sampson and Esarey 1993; Steponaitis 1983, 1991). The study of pictographs and petroglyphs has been left out of this discourse for the most part, but they are key to the exploration of nonmortuary contexts whether they are sketched on moist clay deep in caves (Faulkner 1986) or on exterior rock surfaces (Diaz-Granados and Duncan 1999).

The direct historical approach continues to be the mainstay for interpretation on many levels of meaning, and it has led to a number of important inroads into the matter of meaning. Jim Howard (1968) was a pioneer in the subject, joined by important contributions from Charles Hudson (1976, 1984) and Robert Hall (1989, 1997). In the meantime, Brown (1975, 1976), DeBoer (1993), Emerson (1989), Knight (1989), and Prentice (1986) have added significant insights. One of the advantages of a stylistic, as opposed to a purely typological, analysis is that it allows access to past cultural meanings through the intersection of relevant ethnography with patterns of sign equivalence particular to individual styles (J. Brown 1997).

Appreciation of Aesthetic Qualities

In 1985 the public attitude toward the archaeology of the Southeast was significantly altered with the Detroit Museum exhibit of the “Ancient Art of the American Woodland Indians” (Brose, Brown, and Penney 1985). It marked a significant departure by focusing on the aesthetics of the SECC. Following shortly on this signal breakthrough, the Southeast was recognized again as significant in the Columbian transformation by the National Gallery of Art exhibit “Circa 1492” (Levenson 1991). In the meantime, numerous other exhibits have been mounted at regional museums, including the 1984 Cottonlandia Conference sponsored by L. B. Jones (Galloway 1989). Each of these drew attention to the SECC as a record of a cultural expression that was significant cross-culturally and interesting on its own as a unique historical phenomenon. The SECC has, as a consequence, become transformed from an assemblage of relics standing for an anonymous cult to what can be regarded plausibly as *the* cultural achievement of the native peoples of the Southeast.

Where does this leave us? In my estimation an important development for the future is the delineation of the archaeological contexts of social and ritual intensification present throughout the Mississippian period. Because the “Big Three” sites of the SECC have been the window through which archaeologists have perceived the SECC from its inception as a formal taxon, not only will it become important to understand the social, economic, and political place of the SECC at those particular sites, but also it will be necessary to understand how cosmologies are materialized more generally, whether SECC objects and associated imagery are present or not. This is particularly necessary where classic Braden and related stylized imagery is absent from the material record.

There are connected issues that are much more specific, such as the location of production and the specific contexts for consumption. We need a detailed investigation of mortuary structures, communal feasting locales, and other locations of ritual activity. Then there are network-dependent questions to be addressed—e.g., why does a site such as Spiro, lying at the western edge of the Eastern Woodlands, contain such a disproportionate amount of SECC material? Basically, the future lies with coming to grips with the fact that the ideological world of which SECC is part is only accessible to a degree through its associated material forms.

4 Historical Archaeology in the Southeast, 1930–2000

Stanley South and Kathleen Deagan

The Southeastern United States was arguably the nursery of modern historical archaeology in America. Some of the first systematic archeological research on historic sites and problems took place in the region during the 1930s, and the Southeast remains one of the most active and diverse centers in the country for historical archaeology. We present here our personal perspectives on historical archaeology as it developed in the region, drawing from our experiences spanning nearly fifty years. South, one of the first American archaeologists to practice “historical archaeology” explicitly, has been active in the Atlantic seaboard region since the 1950s and was the founder of the first formal organization in the United States devoted to historical archaeology. Deagan began working in the early 1970s in Florida as one of the first generation of practitioners to be trained explicitly in historical archaeology.

We should note, however, that the notion of “Southeastern historical archaeology” is problematical to the extent that it implies a regional historical archaeology. Historical archaeology, as it has emerged in the twentieth century, necessarily deals with world cultural systems and secondarily with regions. Although many pioneers of the discipline worked in the Southeast, their concerns (such as European impact on American Indians, the development of classificatory and chronological systems for European material culture, and the articulation of written and archaeological data) were more closely aligned with those of historical archaeologists outside of the Southeast than they were concerned with regional chronologies. In many ways, issues that are unique to the Southeast have captured the attention of historical archaeologists only within the last two decades.

The Early Years

Some of the first intentional historical archaeology in the Americas was carried out in the Southeast during the 1930s and 1940s, and much of that work established agendas that have remained with us to the present day. A major and enduring emphasis was the study of culture contact between Southeastern Indians and Europeans, particularly in its impacts on Native Americans. One of the earliest examples of this focus is provided by the explorations of James Ford and Moreau Chambers at the historic Natchez Fatherland site in Louisiana during the 1920s, when the researchers were “just out of high school” (Cotter 1993:9; Ford 1936). Ford, after flirting in the 1930s with historical archaeology in the plantation ruins of the Georgia coast (Ford 1937; Griffin 1994:72), went on to be one of the most important figures in Southeastern archaeology. Chambers continued his career in historical archaeology as the first archaeologist in charge at Williamsburg in the 1950s (Cotter 1994b:21).

The decade of the 1930s was very influential in shaping the directions of historical (and pre-Columbian) archaeology throughout the country. In 1935 the Historic Sites Act was passed by Congress, establishing a national policy of preservation of historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for public use. The formalization of professional archaeology in the Americas occurred that same year with the establishment of the Society for American Archaeology, followed shortly by the establishment of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference in 1938. Although prehistory was the primary concern of both societies, they nevertheless focused professional consensus on appropriate archaeological questions and methodologies, which in 1935 were predominantly those of classification and chronology (see Dunnell 1986; Willey and Sabloff 1980:73–74).

These events coincided with the federal Works Progress Administration, the Civil Works Administration, and the Tennessee Valley Authority relief programs during the period of 1933–1942, which provided some of the first opportunities to develop and implement these archaeological methodologies on Southeastern sites (see Lyon 1996). The primary emphasis of these programs was on prehistoric archaeology, particularly in the Tennessee Valley Authority projects, in which the emphasis “was on prehistoric sites, with little attention to historic sites” (Lyon 1996:41). Nearly all of the “historical archaeology” resulting from those efforts involved the documentation of Native American sites containing historic trade goods (Cotter 1993:8–9; see also Smith 1996:1–3). This trend continued to dominate Southeastern historical archaeology well into the 1970s. As late as 1971, David Hally noted in a review article that “in the Southeast to date, approximately 140 historic sites have been investigated and

described in print. Of these, the great majority, roughly 75%, are aboriginal sites yielding evidence of European contact” (Hally 1971:55).

There were some important exceptions to the emphasis on prehistoric sites in the federal archaeology programs, particularly in the vicinity of Ocmulgee, Georgia. In 1936 Gordon Willey excavated the 1806 blockhouse and part of the palisade at Fort Hawkins, built as a trading center for negotiations with the Creek Indians near Ocmulgee (Carrillo 1971; Willey 1936). Art Kelly’s work on Creek-European interaction at the Macon Trading Post (Kelly 1938, 1939) introduced an emphasis on European-Indian exchange and acculturation that initiated an unbroken continuum of work in the Southeast, continued in the 1940s by such archaeologists as John Griffin (1945, 1949, 1994; Griffin and Smith 1949) and Hale Smith (1948a, 1948b, 1956) and in the 1950s and beyond by others noted below.

Another major emphasis in Southeastern historical archaeology with roots in the federal relief program was John Swanton’s effort to reconstruct the route of De Soto through the Southeast (Swanton 1985). This problem has continued to fascinate Southeastern archaeologists to the present day and has expanded to include the routes of many other Spanish explorers (DePratter et al. 1983, 1985, 1990).

One of the few European towns in the Southeast to be studied through in the Works Progress Administration was St. Augustine, Florida—the United States’s oldest extant European settlement. Excavations were carried out by Verne Chatelaine and John Griffin from 1937 to 1939 to locate and partially reconstruct the Spanish defensive systems in the colony (Chatelaine 1941; Deagan 1991). The only other European community to receive major archaeological attention before 1950 was the National Monument of Fort Frederica, Georgia, excavated by Charles Fairbanks in 1947–1949 (Fairbanks 1948, 1956).

The development of archaeological programs (both historic and prehistoric) in the Southeast during this period was profoundly influenced by the University of Chicago and the University of Michigan. The University of Chicago field school program was centrally involved in the federal relief agency archaeology in the Southeast, and many of the pioneers in Southeastern archaeology were trained at Chicago (see Lyon 1996). Joseph Caldwell, Joffre Coe, Charles Fairbanks, John Griffin, Hale Smith, James B. Griffin, and J. C. Harrington, for example, were all Chicago students. Federal relief agency archaeology programs came to an end in 1942 with the beginning of World War II. Following the war, the GI Bill allowed many of those archaeologists to complete their graduate education, and most of them did it at the University of Michigan under the influence of James B. Griffin. Hale Smith and Charles Fairbanks, for example, both did their graduate work at Michigan, and both

came directly to work on historic sites in the Southeast, with Fairbanks at Fort Frederica, Georgia, and Smith in the Florida missions.

Florida was a center for the developing field of historical archaeology in the postwar years of the 1940s and early 1950s. John Griffin had come from Chicago to join the Florida Park Service in 1946, having already established an agenda for contact-era historical archeology in the state (Griffin 1945). John Goggin, who had conducted his dissertation research in Florida through the joint Yale–University of Michigan archaeological program organized by James B. Griffin, joined the faculty of the University of Florida in 1945, and he, too, became immediately involved in historical archaeology. Hale Smith, also influenced by James B. Griffin, did his dissertation work at Michigan on European-Indian contact in Florida (Smith 1956) and joined the faculty of Florida State University in 1948 (see Griffin 1994; Smith 1994).

By 1954, Charles Fairbanks (who also studied with James B. Griffin at Michigan) had joined Smith at FSU. Florida was thus the focus for several of the pioneers of historical archaeology in its developmental years, and they explicitly emphasized research programs to investigate the mechanisms and consequences of European-American Indian contact in the Southeast (Boyd et al. 1951; Fairbanks 1952, 1962; Goggin et al. 1949; Griffin 1945, 1949; Mason 1963; Morrell 1965; Seaberg 1951; Smith 1948a, 1948b, 1956). An important component of their programs was the Florida mission system, in which some of the first anthropologically oriented historical archaeology in the United States was carried out.

Historical archaeology in the Southeast at midcentury remained devoted largely to American Indian society during, and in response to, European contact; work conducted in the Southeast before 1970 on this theme is summarized by Hally (1971). This began to change and diversify during the 1950s with such projects as Joseph and Sheila Caldwell's and Clemens DeBaillou's at British forts and historic houses in Georgia and South Carolina (Caldwell 1954:13–17; Caldwell 1974b:45–56; DeBaillou 1954, 1955, 1957), adding to the small body of European-American archaeology already generated from Frederica and St. Augustine (for example, Harrington et al. 1955). This work was, nevertheless, done by archaeologists trained in prehistory, and it was not until the second half of the century that a recognizably distinct “historical” archaeology emerged.

The Honeymoon Years (Stan South)

I came to have a respect for interpreting the past through material culture remains from several directions. One of the earliest was my grandmother, and this childhood influence has been described elsewhere (South, ed.

1977:xxv-xxvi). A later important (and more influential) introduction came when Jewell and I, on our honeymoon in 1949, visited Jamestown, Virginia, and saw stabilized archaeological ruins with accompanying restoration drawings in explanatory exhibits. This interpretive approach, effectively bonding archaeological ruins in architectural relationship to each other, and to history through the trailside exhibits, would become a model for me later in other places (South 1977b). There were others making pioneer contributions to historical artifact research at about the time of our honeymoon that would serve well those of us who would later enter the field (much of this work is summarized in South 1994).

It was during this period of the early 1950s when Jewell and I returned to Williamsburg and saw where architects had been excavating at, I believe, the Wythe House. Lying around on the back-dirt pile were many wine bottle fragments, tobacco pipe stems, some virtually whole pipe bowls, and other fascinating artifacts, obviously discarded by the diggers. I was surprised that such interesting artifacts would be discarded without the screening process we routinely used on Native American sites. I collected some of these and placed the collection at the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina, because, as I understood it from an anthropologically trained archaeologist, Joffre Coe, such items were important clues to interpreting the past and should be carefully quantified and systematically curated.

In the mid-1950s, however, when this and other historical archaeology was going on, my interest was still primarily in Native American archaeology. At a mid-1950s Southeastern Archaeological Conference meeting an archaeologist reported on a cellar hole he had dug, filled with brick rubble, so it was difficult to obtain the classic straight profile. He took great pride in the fact that he had used a portable generator to power a diamond skill saw and had sawn the protruding bricks, thus obtaining a straight profile! Needless to say, this method of obtaining a straight profile at the expense of brick artifacts and common sense was received with a great deal of derision and much discussion.

What interested me in this volatile exchange were the many derisive expressions that excavating historic sites was not “real” archaeology but “tin-can archaeology,” a term often used at that time (see Harrington 1994:5; South 1994:vi). I thought then that what historical archaeology needed was the theory and methods of anthropological archaeology brought to practice on historic sites, with the goal of discovering the broad cultural processes responsible for the behavior that resulted in the archaeological record.

In 1958 I was excavating the plaza area and interpreting archaeology through the reconstruction of a Native American temple and priest’s house at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site in North Carolina (South 1995:282–300) when I was told by my employer that a new property called Brunswick

Town State Historic Site had been acquired by the State of North Carolina. It was a colonial town site dating from the mid two-quarters of the eighteenth century. The state was trying to get Charles Fairbanks to take the historical archaeology position and had made him an offer. I was asked whether I would be interested if he did not accept the offer. I said that I would be. As it turned out, the pay for that position was far less than Fairbanks required, and I was hired to excavate and develop Brunswick Town as a state historic site in 1958.

After I dug a ruin or two at Brunswick Town, I paid a visit to Fort Frederica National Monument. I was interested in Frederica because it dated to the period of Brunswick Town, and I had hopes that some quantitative comparison of artifact types could be made to help determine a pattern for sites of that period. The new Park Service archaeologist showed me a pile of eighteenth-century artifacts about three feet high and six feet broad and told me to help myself. This treasure trove was composed primarily of ceramics, pipe stems, and wine bottle fragments; I was told that the exhibit items had been saved but that these broken fragments were not suitable for exhibit so they were discarded. I filled a box with representative samples and turned them over to Joffre Coe at the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina for curation. Years later I learned that this pile of artifacts at Frederica was such an attraction that visitors to the pile had become a distraction, so a hole was dug and the objects pushed into it.

Certainly at Frederica at that time, quantification of historic period artifact fragments was of little concern, and I could not expect any comparisons of value to emerge. It was difficult to find type descriptions for the ceramics I was finding at Brunswick Town in the early 1960s beyond encyclopedias of ceramics written by non-archaeologists, where the emphasis was on whole vessels that archaeologists seldom see. In 1959 I created my own "Description of the Ceramic Types from Brunswick Town" (South 1959b). From this beginning, and using the quantitative analysis methods and evolutionary theory I had learned in my anthropological training as well as consultation with Ivor Noël Hume for ceramic identification questions, I developed a Mean Ceramic Date Formula in a paper titled "Evolution and Horizon as Revealed in Ceramic Analysis in Historical Archaeology" (South 1972a). In spite of criticism of the formula and reasons why it should be invalid, as one colleague put it, "Nevertheless, the damn thing works."

Artifact pattern recognition toward demonstrating the culture processes responsible for the archaeological record was a major goal of mine in dealing with sites of the British colonial system. In 1959, however, after only a year at Brunswick Town, I needed to share information with others excavating British colonial period sites and to compare notes on artifact pattern distributions in time and space. To accomplish this I wrote a letter on November 6, 1959, and

sent it to all I could think of who had shown some interest in historic site archaeology. In that letter I said:

As you know, we historic site archaeologists are often looked upon by our fellow anthropologists as a kind of bastard researcher—half archaeologist and half historian. . . . Regardless of how competent our work may prove to be, we will always remain a breed apart from our colleagues working with the American Indian. As a result of our separate problems we are not represented in the programs of existing archaeological conferences as often as might be desired. . . . I would like to suggest the formation of *The Historic Sites Archaeological Conference* which would meet each year to present a program based on problems encountered by historic site archaeologists in the excavation and analysis of their data.

I received encouragement from various archaeologists both within and outside of the Southeast, including Lewis Binford, Charles Fairbanks, Hale Smith, John Corbett, James B. Griffin, John M. Goggin, Joseph B. Mahan Jr., Larry Meier, B. Bruce Powell, G. Hubert Smith, Robert L. Stephenson, John Griffin, Pinky (J. C.) Harrington, Ivor Noël Hume, Robert Wauchope, Stephen Williams, Irving Rouse, Ripley Bullen, and A. R. Kelly. John Goggin, who was chairman of SEAC in 1960, and who had just published his important study on the Spanish olive jar (1960), wrote that the Conference on Historic Site Archaeology (CHSA) could meet the day before SEAC, as I had suggested. The CHSA did meet the day before SEAC for seventeen years until the Tuscaloosa, Alabama, meeting, where SEAC resolved that SEAC and CHSA “should go their independent ways” (South 1977c:ii).

The CHSA continued to meet separately from SEAC until 1982, when for the second year in a row, no papers were submitted for publication in *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*. With the failure of those presenting papers to submit them for publication, CHSA was brought to a close, with fifteen volumes of papers having been produced (South 1983a:ii). CHSA papers had been presented by scholars from the United States, Great Britain, and Canada and marked the emergence of historical archaeology as a recognized discipline in the United States.

Among those doing historical archaeology in the 1950s and 1960s were historians, architects, and anthropologists. There was consequently a problem of identity, a problem illustrated dramatically by what is often called the “Dollar exchange” in *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*, where a paper by Clyde Dollar was the focus of a forum in which opinions were aired with abandon over whether historical archaeology was history, or anthropology, or archaeology (South 1968:2[2]:1–188).

In 1967 the Society for Historical Archaeology was founded, with John Cotter as president; the first volume of *Historical Archaeology* soon appeared, followed shortly by a series of other important contributions to historical archaeology (e.g., Goggin 1968; Noël Hume 1967). Ian Quimby's edited volume, *Ceramics in America* (1973), based on the Winterthur Conference of 1972, was a notable contribution to ceramic studies. At that same Winterthur Conference I presented my Mean Ceramic Date Formula paper but was asked by the conference chairman to allow them not to publish the paper because, being archaeological and quantitative in nature, it was out of keeping with the other ceramic studies presented. I withdrew the paper and published it elsewhere (South 1972a:6(2):69–116, 1977b:201–237). This non-quantitative attitude seemed to have changed by 1977, when I conducted a study of trends in historical archaeology to evaluate the state of the field and I pointed out the slowly emerging trend in historical archaeology toward archaeological science (South 1977b: 17–25). I did not realize at the time that the slow trend would virtually stop twenty years later, when anti-science postprocessualism entered the field. I have discussed this strange fruit in historical archaeology elsewhere (South 1993a:15–18, 1996:11).

During the 1970s, the field of historical archaeology continued to expand throughout the country, as many archaeologists who had previously been primarily involved with archaeology of Native American sites began to excavate historic sites. Many of them were concerned with historical archaeology as a science, emphasizing the identification, measurement, and classification of the archaeological record in an effort to gain a better understanding of cultural patterns and processes of the past (for examples in the Southeast, see Dickens 1979, 1982; Gregory 1973; Kelso 1971; Lewis 1984).

It was also at this time that James Deetz published *In Small Things Forgotten* (1977) in which he describes his revelatory experience when he suddenly recognized that the artifacts were revealing to him a past mind-set. His salvation experience on reading Henry Glassie's *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (1975) was reported by him in Nashville at the plenary session of the SHA, as well as elsewhere. He told me on several occasions, "I used to do science, but I gave it up for Glassie."

By 1980 the honeymoon years in the marriage of history, architecture, archaeology, and anthropology were over, and historical archaeology began to bear the fruit of the decades that had gone before. The achievements of the offspring of those decades are summarized by Kathleen Deagan in the following section. Some of the theoretical fruits of those decades are strange to me indeed, as I have pointed out elsewhere (South 1993a:15–18), particularly those that reject all scientific endeavor. This is typified by Mark Leone's observation that "scientific methods of study tend to demean the culture of others, as well

as the others themselves, by measuring, comparing, objectifying, and denaturing them” (in D. Thomas 1998:83).

How could we have known, in the optimistic honeymoon years, that by the turn of the century an influential anti-science theory would enter the field in the form of the postprocessual critique? David Thomas (1998:86) points out that advocates of postprocessual critique have proposed that “archaeology is archaeology and archaeology is history—but archaeology is not anthropology.” For one who has emphasized that historical archaeology is anthropology, this notion is a red flag. The honeymoon is indeed over, and, as we begin the new millennium, a strange subjective creature is at large in the land.

The Marriage Bears Fruit (Kathy Deagan)

As archaeologists, we know that change is always inevitable, often difficult, sometimes alarming, and rarely precisely predictable. I came on the archaeological scene at a time (the late sixties) when an intense and often ill-mannered debate was raging between those who stood behind “culture history” as the only acceptable paradigm under which archaeology could operate (usually senior scholars) and those (most often junior scholars) who passionately advocated a neo-evolutionary “processual archaeology” (a.k.a. “anthropological archaeology” or “the New Archeology”) as the only acceptable approach. By the time historical archaeology was firmly established in the Southeast, the processual archaeologists, led by Lewis Binford, had scored a decisive victory (in no small part owing to a series of strategic retirements by senior faculty). The profession was united—at least in lip service—to the scientific investigation of cultural processes and evolution. Binford’s counterpart in historical archaeology was his former classmate, Stan South, whose self-professed commitment to scientific archaeology set the agenda for historical archaeology in the 1970s.

I was determined in the years between 1972 and 1974, when doing my dissertation research under Charles Fairbanks in St. Augustine, Florida, to reject a descriptive approach and reveal instead the processes of Spanish and Indian acculturation in Spanish Florida through anthropological science (Deagan 1974). I hoped for some feedback from professional historical archaeologists outside of Florida (there were very few in the Southeast at that time), and inflated by a successful defense, I sent my finished dissertation to Stan South. Stan applied himself generously to the task and returned more than ten pages of detailed comment and critique. After I stopped crying, I read more carefully and realized that he was right—although the processual goals of the work may have been laudable, the evidence (i.e., the material data base) was simply not up to the task. The middle-range theory linking the data (materials and

context) to process (culture change and exchange)—was not yet developed. It would be ten years and a lot of dull correlation before the dissertation would be published (Deagan 1983).

Few of us in the 1970s, however, wanted to concentrate on the kind of descriptive, basic correlative research that was needed to link observation and interpretation, for fear of being labeled “particularists” or “tin can archeologists.” Our colleagues and classmates doing prehistoric archaeology were building on their predecessors’ many decades of painstakingly developed classificatory and chronological frameworks to ask newer kinds of processual questions, and we wanted to do the same. Unfortunately, we attempted in many cases to do just that but without a sufficiently solid foundation of classificatory and interpretive tools (an undertaking that, as Stan documents above, was just getting under way by the 1970s).

Thus, despite processual longings, most historical archaeologists in the Southeast during the early 1970s still tended to carry out historically oriented and descriptive projects. This had to do not only with the inadequacy of models and methods but also with the increased consciousness of, and legal attention to, cultural resource management issues that profoundly influenced all aspects of American archaeology during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Culminated by the passage of the Moss-Bennett Bill in 1974, public archaeology paid serious attention to the management of historic sites and, implicitly, to the definition and communication of national identities. Legislation provided not only protection but also formal acknowledgment that historic-era sites were an important component of our archaeological heritage. It also emphasized attention to scientific methods and project-specific concerns.

Historical archaeologists working during the 1970s were also increasingly frustrated by the restrictions of a methodology that had been developed for prehistory and that did little to advance the potentials of text-aided archaeology. It was Stan South who first offered a methodology specifically designed for ordering and analyzing historical-archaeological data, based on his work at British colonial sites in South Carolina (1977b). Unlike traditional methods of archaeological analysis guided by physical attributes in compositional groups (e.g., “ceramics,” “lithics,” “bone,” and so on), South’s system explicitly incorporated documentarily known chronological, functional, and social information into Human Relations Area Files-like functional categories of human activity as the basic units of analysis (e.g., “kitchen activities,” “architectural activities,” “military activities,” and so forth) rather than purely material categories.

These could be quantified into unique patterns at the scale of the cultural system and could serve as a basis for cross-site and cross-cultural comparisons. Although provoking lively debate that has lasted for decades, South’s system

marked the first explicitly historical archaeological analytical methodology and serves as a milestone in the emergence of the discipline.

It also provoked a chaotic search for archaeological “patterns” by Southeastern historical archaeologists. Some of these were intentionally generated for cross-cultural comparative purposes, and others were offered primarily as an alternative to simple artifact descriptions. We saw in the pages of the *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology* and other publications statistical artifact patterns reflecting slaves, Spanish colonists, Moravians, and plantation dwellers, among others. In many cases, the search for “patterns” became an unsatisfying end in itself rather than a means to comparative study (see, for example, South’s own critique [1988:26–27, 1996:10]).

Historical archaeology during the 1970s was also stimulated by the Bicentennial observations (particularly at Revolutionary War-era sites). The Bicentennial significantly enhanced public and political awareness of historic cultural patrimony and archaeology’s role in heritage management. One consequence was that several long-term programs of historical archaeology in Euro-American towns and cities were initiated during the early 1980s. Although archaeology in European towns had been done for many years before the Bicentennial at such sites as St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 1991; Gjessing et al. 1962), Frederica, Georgia (Fairbanks 1948; Honerkamp 1980), Camden, South Carolina (Lewis 1984), and Brunswick Town and Bethabara in North Carolina (South 1965, 1977b, 1999), a new approach to the study of these historic towns emerged in the 1980s. In a number of communities, academic, cultural resource management, and public education concerns coalesced into long-term programs of historical archaeology that incorporated university research, survey projects, and programs aimed at public interpretation. These coalitions produced integrated but flexible research frameworks and funding bases that allowed ongoing, community-based archaeological studies. The work in St. Augustine, Florida, for example, which began in the 1930s, continues today not only with University of Florida field school programs (since 1968) but also through the City Archaeology Program directed by Carl Halbirt (since 1988). Similar partnerships for long-term archaeological studies were developed during the early 1980s in Charleston, South Carolina (Zierden and Calhoun 1990; Zierden and Herman 1999), Pensacola, Florida (Bense 1999); Spanish Santa Elena (South 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983b, 1984, 1985, 1988; South and Hunt 1986; South et al. 1988), and Mobile, Alabama (Waselkov 1998). The mission-fort-town complexes of San Luis, Florida (Hann and McEwan 1998; McEwan 1991) and Los Adaes, Louisiana (Avery 1997, 1998) are also examples of this kind of programmatic development.

Historical archeology has also been nearly continuously under way since the early 1970s in most Southeastern cities through management and salvage pro-

grams to mitigate the relentless impacts of development (e.g., Dickens 1982; Zierden and Calhoun 1990). This work has been—and is being—done by a variety of agencies, private companies, and university field schools; much of it is reported informally in the quarterly *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter*.

Despite the demands of salvage archaeology and reconstruction-oriented Bicentennial projects, by the mid-1980s many historical archaeologists recognized that the most important and unique niche of historical archaeology fell between the boundaries of history and archaeology, where the integration of both disciplines could generate new questions and new answers that would have been unobtainable through either discipline alone. In the Southeast these questions were understandably influenced by the particular circumstances of the historic period in the region, which is the longest and arguably the most culturally diverse of any in the country. Agriculture and attendant slavery (both Indian and African) assumed an economic importance in the Southeast that is not matched anywhere else in the country.

These circumstances inevitably led to concern with the impacts of colonialism and capitalism in local settings throughout the Southeast, whether in towns, on plantations, or in missions. The involvement of archaeologists in these questions allowed, for the first time, a two-sided version of culture contact and acculturation, plantation economy, evangelization, and slavery. These new interests coincided with the somewhat belated influence of postmodernism in historical archaeology and the postprocessual critique of science, evolution, and the notion of an objective past that has impacted virtually every intellectual discipline over the past thirty years (see discussion above; Roseneau 1992; Watson 1990).

Although Stan himself notes above with some dismay that postprocessual approaches have come to dominate historical archaeology, we should point out that this is most vividly apparent outside of the Southeast. The year of 1977, as noted, was seminal for historical archaeology. It saw the publication of South's *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, which established an evolutionary-scientific agenda for historical archaeology, and Deetz's *In Small Things Forgotten*, which established a cognitive-structuralist agenda for historical archaeology in the Northeast. South's *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology*, also published in 1977, included (perhaps ironically) a forward by Mark Leone in which Leone set the stage for an approach to historical archaeology that was Marxist, critical, and self-reflexive (this was more formally developed a few years later by Leone [1982] and Leone et al. [1987]). That agenda continues to characterize the Chesapeake region today. Each of these theoretical/philosophical approaches has significantly influenced historical ar-

chaeology in the United States, although each is expressed most strongly in the region of its initial development.

Southeastern historical archaeologists responded to postmodernist currents not only somewhat later than in many other parts of the country but also with considerably less abandon. This certainly has to do with the influence of Stanley South in the region. It is also probably in part owing to the fact that until the 1990s most of the historical archaeologists doing active research in the Southeast were either trained by or were themselves members of the “first wave” of academic practitioners from the (then) largely materialist and strongly fieldwork-based schools of Chicago and Michigan (discussed above). The majority of historical archaeology in the Southeast is furthermore being done through programs of cultural resources management or programs aimed at public education, with their often-urgent restrictions and pragmatic concerns based on the premise that there is an objective past worth knowing.

The postprocessual critique in Southeastern archaeology differed from the earlier culture-history/culture-process debate of the late 1960s in that it has been additive rather than replacing the earlier paradigm. As historical archaeologists have become ever more attentive to the enduring social inequities produced and perpetuated by colonialism and capitalism, as well as to the potential of individual or small group agency as an explanation for change, many have shifted their scale of inquiry downward from whole cultural systems to households and individuals but without abandoning a scientific methodology. Consideration of such individual structuring elements as class, gender, and race as explanations for historical circumstance or processual change has also inspired many Southeastern historical archaeologists to focus on these constructs rather than on systemwide elements.

The archaeological investigation of African slavery is one of the best examples of this shift in focus and is one of the first uniquely Southeastern topics addressed by historical archaeologists. Several programs dedicated to African presence in the region were initiated during the 1970s and 1980s, much of it concentrated on plantations. The first work explicitly to address slavery as a condition, however, was done in the 1960s by Charles Fairbanks at Kingsley Plantation, Florida, and on the Georgia Sea Islands (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1974; Otto 1975). Since that time, the archaeology of slavery on Southeastern plantation sites has become a major theme in Southeastern archaeology (see, for example the summaries in Fairbanks 1984; Orser 1990; Singleton 1985, 1995, 1999). Archaeologists working throughout the Southeast have largely rejected the stereotype of Africans living under slavery as a passive population stripped of their own culture, revealing instead that many material elements such as pottery, food, and architecture were created and manipulated

in ways that not only expressed African American cultural identity but also manifested resistance to the dominant white society (see particularly Babson 1990; Deagan and MacMahon 1995; Ferguson 1992; Joseph 1993b; Singleton 1998; B. Thomas 1998; Wilkie 1995; however, see Howson 1990 for a critique of this approach on the basis of inadequate middle-range theory).

Several of the long-standing, enduring emphases in the historical archaeology of the Southeast have also been recast in the 1980s and 1990s from the perspective of historically disenfranchised people. Studying the routes of such early Spanish explorers as Hernando De Soto, Panfilo de Narvaez, Juan Pardo, and Tristan de Luna (among others) was one of the earliest emphases in Southeastern historical archaeology (see Milanich 1991a, 1991b for summaries). By the mid-1980s the earlier interest in reconstructing the routes and identifying Indian towns along the way had expanded to include a focus on the impact and consequence of these expeditions on Southeastern Indians. The newer interest in the American Indian side of the encounter was typified by Marvin Smith's study of aboriginal population collapse in the Southeast after contact (Smith 1987), and subsequent archaeological studies of this kind are summarized in Thomas (1990:1-224; see also DePratter 1989, 1991; DePratter et al. 1983, 1985, 1990; Ewen and Hann 1998; Hudson et al. 1984, 1989; Milanich and Hudson 1993; Pertulla 1994; Waselkov 1993; Wood et al. 1989).

Much of the rekindled interest in historic period culture contact and culture change among the Southeastern Indians was related to the attention to Spanish colonization inspired by the quincentenary observation of Columbus's first voyage to America in 1492, an event that greatly stimulated contact-era archaeology in the Southeast (see Deagan 1998). The Columbus quincentenary also provoked a renaissance of sorts in the archaeological study of multicultural, colonial frontier communities, particularly those organized in part as missions to the Southeastern Indians. Several major programs of long-term archaeological research at missions were initiated, or reinitiated, in the 1980s and 1990s. These include those at San Luis de Talimali (Hann and McEwan 1998) and elsewhere in Florida and Georgia (summarized in McEwan 1993; Milanich 1999; Thomas 1990:357-581); the Los Adaes site in Louisiana (Avery 1997, 1998); and several sites in east Texas (summarized in Thomas 1989). Much of this work has demonstrated the very complex and subtle processes of interaction and mutual influence among the European and American Indian populations in these frontier communities, with adjustments made by all involved.

Perhaps somewhat paradoxically, many of these newer insights into cultural interaction and local agency were made possible because of specific scientific advances in subsistence studies and bioarchaeology of historic populations. Until the 1980s little attention had been given to dietary analysis and reconstruction in historical archaeology, owing largely to the assumption that docu-

ments made this unnecessary. Focused efforts by a few specialists to understand and integrate the implications of documents into their methodologies after that time, however, produced important insights into the physical and environmental dimensions of the historic period Southeast (for a summary of some of these see Deagan 1996).

Leaders in this effort included students of Elizabeth Wing of the University of Florida, such as Stephen Cumbaa (1975) and Elizabeth Reitz (1979, 1985; Reitz and Honerkamp 1983; Reitz and Scarry 1985), and today sophisticated historical-archeological analysis of subsistence remains are a standard part of Southeastern historical archeology (see also Ruhl 1993; Stewart-Abernathy and Ruff 1989). Similar advances have been made in the analysis of historic period Southeastern skeletal populations, which now incorporates documentary information about life circumstances, population demography, diet, and mortuary practice into bioarchaeological studies (for summaries of this work see Baker and Kealhofer 1996; Hutchinson 1991; Larsen 1990; Powell et al. 1991).

Summary

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is clear that historical archaeology in the Southeast has retained and enhanced most of the major themes with which it began in the 1930s. The excavation of historic sites for public interpretation, mission archaeology, the study of culture contact and exchange among European and American Indian groups, the routes of early explorers, and refinement of the material culture data base are still actively under way. Some important new emphases have also been introduced, including the archaeology of African Americans and plantation slavery; an interest in resistance as a process in cultural survival; efforts to understand better the development of cultural identity and creolization in multiethnic settings (cf. Cusick 1993; Hoffman 1994; Ruhl and Hoffman 1997). Since 1980 we have also seen the development and refinement of zooarchaeological, archaeobotanical, and bioarchaeological methods in historic sites to the enormous benefit of the field. All of these new developments have been both influenced and stimulated since the mid-1970s by the formalization of cultural resource management programs and the development of methods specific to historical archaeology.

Although considerable attention is being paid to postprocessual concerns of human agency and historicity at a local scale, Southeastern historical archaeologists have not abandoned cross-cultural studies in search of general patterns and evolutionary process at the supralocal scale. In fact, these large-scale approaches are considerably enhanced by the more careful attention to local circumstances encouraged by the newer perspectives (see, for example, Pauketat 2001). As we look back on the twentieth century, I am encouraged by the sug-

gestion that the grandchildren of South's honeymoon years have developed a certain theoretical diversity—even sophistication—that permits a more careful attention to scales of analysis. Science is still at large in the land and will remain with us as the appropriate way to address questions of culture and history that transcend local settings. Still, science has useful company in the post-processual, historically oriented approaches that are appropriate for the questions of local scale that we never really stopped studying, even at the peak of processualism. We should hope that in the twenty-first century historically oriented and scientifically oriented approaches to the Southeastern past (such as “prehistoric” and “historic” archaeology) will not be construed as oppositions but rather as complementary tools, each appropriate to particular scales of inquiry but both enhancing the other.

Notes

We thank Charlie McNutt for inviting us to contribute this chapter. We also thank Chester DePratter and Al Woods for reading drafts of this chapter and offering suggestions.

5 Paleogeography and Geomorphology in the Lower Mississippi Valley

Roger T. Saucier

Archaeology and geomorphology! Perhaps nowhere in the world other than the floodplain and delta of a major river valley are these sciences so mutually dependent. This is especially true in the dynamic natural environment of the Lower Mississippi Valley, where both sciences have advanced together to a high state. The paths have not been easy, however, and there have been setbacks. This chapter mentions some of the highlights of the last half century of contributions of geomorphology and geology to understanding Mississippi valley landforms, processes, and history as related to human occupation. The chapter is written from the perspective of the author, who has been one of the principal participants in advancing the state of knowledge of alluvial and deltaic geoarchaeology during the last four decades.

The Fiskian Era

The year was 1944. The Lower Mississippi Archaeological Survey (later renamed Lower Mississippi Survey or LMS), being conducted by Louisiana State University, the University of Michigan, and Harvard University, had been under way for five years. The purpose of the survey was to investigate the northern two-thirds of the alluvial valley—an area long regarded as one of the principal blind spots in the archaeology of the Southeast (Phillips et al. 1951). According to the authors, this was not due to a lack of work; rather, the work had failed to reveal anything concerning pre-Mississippian cultures.

At the same time at LSU, Harold Fisk, a geologist, had just completed a monumental report for the U.S. Corps of Engineers' Mississippi River Commission on the geology of the alluvial valley of the Mississippi River (Fisk 1944). In this detailed and magnificently illustrated report, Fisk presented a re-

construction of river meandering at one-hundred-year intervals for the last two thousand years and older channel positions at greater intervals going back about seven thousand years. His interpretation also included subdivision of the deltaic plain into several subdeltas (now generally referred to as delta complexes).

The principal investigators of the LMS—Phil Phillips, Jim Ford, and Jimmy Griffin—were not unaware of what Fisk had been working on for two years. They knew of the possibilities of correlating pottery chronology with Mississippi River hydrology, but, according to them, in their fieldwork “they had not been as aware as they might have been of the importance of relating sites to local drainage” (Phillips et al. 1951:295). In hindsight, they recognized the tremendous potential in dating sites by their river channel associations.

Thus began several decades in which it was virtually unheard of for any archaeologist to investigate a major site without careful consideration of its geomorphic setting and Fisk’s river channel chronology. It should be recalled that, at least until 1952, so-called absolute dating techniques such as radiocarbon assays were still just a dream. Anything that approached producing a numerical age estimate was readily embraced.

Problems with Fisk’s chronology soon emerged, however. Those archaeologists who endorsed the concept but urged caution in interpreting results were eventually to have the last word. For example, by 1951 Jim Ford already had experienced difficulties in reconciling archaeologically derived dates with Fisk’s channel chronology at the Greenhouse site in central Louisiana (Ford 1951) and questioned whether Fisk’s chronological intervals were really one hundred years long. Several years later, Ford, Phillips, and Bill Haag encountered unreconcilable differences at the Poverty Point period Jaketown site in west-central Mississippi, partly because of the first radiocarbon dates (Ford et al. 1955). They concluded that Fisk’s chronology was accurate in relative terms but not in calendrical terms.

Subsequent Geologic Mapping

In 1961, I graduated from LSU, accepted a position in the Geology Branch of the Corps’ Waterways Experiment Station in Vicksburg, Mississippi, and began following in the footsteps of Fisk. During the next decade, I rapidly expanded a program of detailed engineering geologic quadrangle mapping that was eventually to cover most of the alluvial valley area (for example, see Saucier 1967). The approach that was used focused on identifying and delineating sedimentary units and their inferred environments of deposition. Stratigraphic relations were a key part of the interpretations, but the Corps’ re-

ports did not discuss chronological implications. Significant new and exciting chronological concepts began to emerge and appear in the literature, however.

For example, strong evidence emerged that the alluvial valley had experienced two rather than just one episode of glacial outwash deposition during the Wisconsin stage as Fisk had believed (Saucier 1968). This meant that most of the braided-stream surfaces or terraces (redesignated valley trains in Saucier 1994) were much older than originally believed, some by tens of thousands of years—hence, the recognition of Early and Late Wisconsin stage valley train surfaces and deposits in various parts of the valley (Figure 5.1). Still, what did this mean to archaeology?

I knew firsthand what this meant because I had the pleasure of working for a few months in 1961 with Jim Ford on his “Dalton Project” in northeastern Arkansas and southeastern Missouri. Despite earlier problems with Fisk’s chronology, Ford still regarded it as the Holy Grail, as suggested by a photo I took of Ford in Helena, Arkansas (Figure 5.2). In this photo, Ford is shown planning a site survey in the area as guided by Fisk’s braided-stream channel reconstruction and surface chronology. Ford’s other field assistant, Alden Redfield, and I were instructed not to waste our time on some of the younger braided-stream surfaces because obviously they were too young for Dalton culture sites.

Although we obeyed the orders, it soon became apparent that local amateurs and landowners had not gotten the word because Dalton points were present by the thousands in their collections from sites on the younger braided-stream surfaces in the area. We took the approach that if they could find them, so could we. Much to Jim’s dismay, we did—and also by the thousands.

Figure 5.3 shows the distribution of three valley train levels in northeastern Arkansas as modified from Saucier (1964). The black dots indicate sites with Dalton artifacts recorded as of several years ago in the Arkansas Archeological Survey’s Automated Management of Archeological Site Data database. Dalton sites obviously are most numerous on the older (Early Wisconsin) surface, but more than forty are present on the intermediate (Late Wisconsin) surface as well. This was the surface that Fisk convinced Ford would be too young for sites of Late Paleo-Indian age. In fact, there are probably many more sites on that surface than have been found because it is veneered with later Holocene Age alluvium, and buried sites are highly probable.

Looking back on this situation, and many others like it, I am reminded of a very popular adage. It goes: *“If I hadn’t seen it, I never would have believed it.”* I am convinced, however, that it is more applicable to geomorphological/archaeological relations if a slight change is made. It should read: *“If I hadn’t believed it, I never would have seen it.”* In fact, it might be even better to say: *“If I hadn’t believed it, I never would have FOUND it.”*

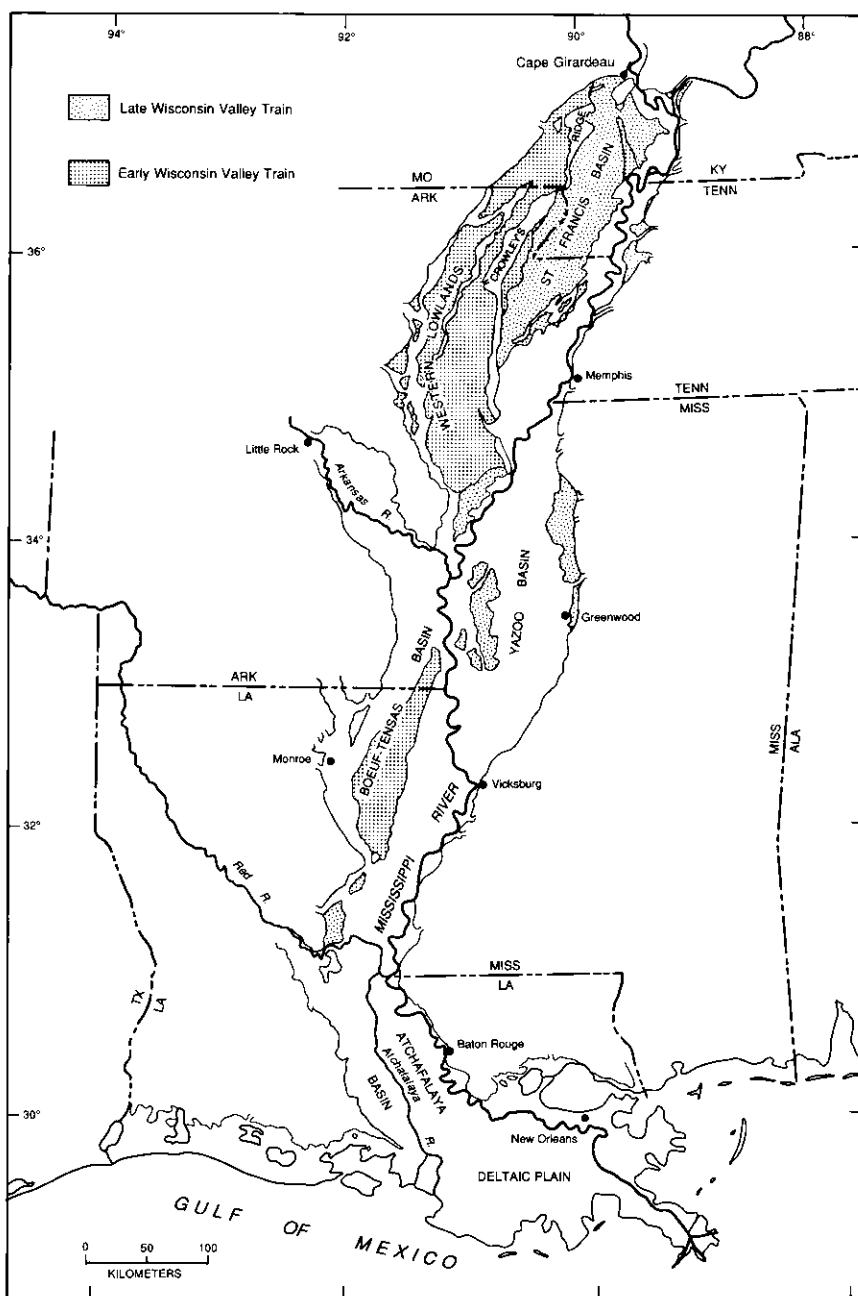


Figure 5.1. Early and Late Wisconsin stage valley train surfaces and deposits in the Mississippi valley. (Courtesy of Arkansas Archeological Society)



Figure 5.2. James A. Ford viewing Fisk Maps in Helena, Arkansas. (Courtesy of Roger Saucier)

I firmly believe that Fisk's classic works were both a blessing and a curse to archaeologists. On the positive side, he set the stage for the concept of how culture must be evaluated in terms of a dynamic landscape. On the negative side, hundreds of archaeological sites probably went undiscovered or were not interpreted correctly simply because he convinced others that certain landforms were not old enough for remains of a particular culture or time period. A classic case of this occurred in the central Yazoo Basin of Mississippi. There, eight Early Archaic sites were first "discovered" only a few years after I demonstrated that certain valley train surfaces were probably at least twelve thousand years old rather than only five thousand years old as previously believed (Brain 1970).

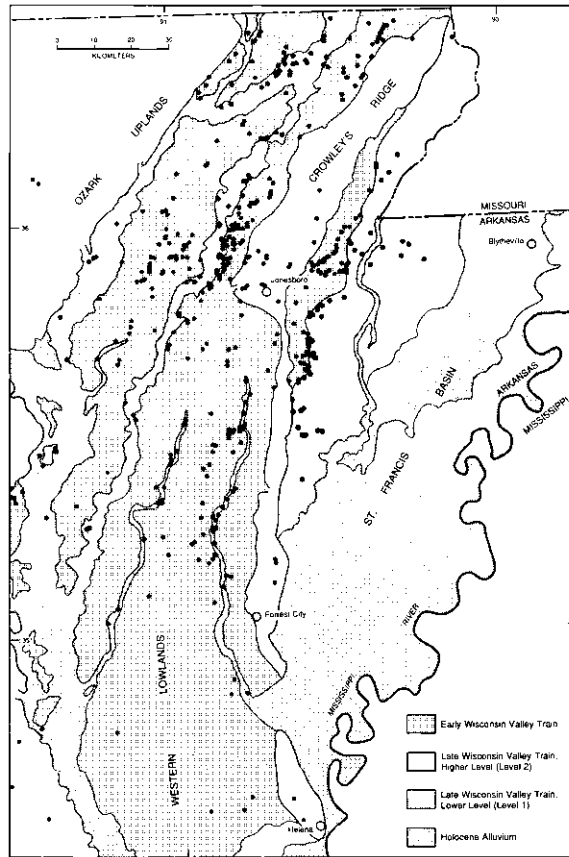


Figure 5.3. Distribution of Dalton points on younger braided-stream surfaces in the central Mississippi valley. (Courtesy of Arkansas Archeological Survey)

Need for a New Chronology

Detailed geologic mapping of the valley at the quadrangle scale continued at the Waterways Experiment Station through the 1970s. As a consequence, it became evident that Fisk had done a masterful job of delineating abandoned river courses and channels, but his chronology was essentially invalid (Saucier 1974). He attempted to go too far with too little because he lacked radiocarbon dates and did not use archaeological evidence in any way. It is now apparent that there were two major problems with his chronology. First, the vast majority of his proposed river channel dates are too young—sometimes less than a third as old as is now believed (Fisk 1944). Second, his conceptual basis for

estimating channel ages was fundamentally wrong (Saucier 1981), as will be explained below.

Although Fisk's work was truly pioneering and pacesetting, he was a victim of the geological concepts of his time. Necessarily he had to adopt the accepted glacial-stage model as the driving force behind his chronology since *all* major events in the Mississippi valley (e.g., valley entrenchment and filling) are dependently linked with glacio-eustatic cycles. In the 1940s and 1950s, the Wisconsin Stage was believed to have involved only one glacial cycle with its sea level response. Two decades later and subsequently, the accepted model involves two major cycles (Saucier 1994). Current recognition of the two episodes of glacial outwash deposition and valley train formation is a partial consequence.

The lack of numerical dates and details of stratigraphic relations forced Fisk to take a conservative and simplistic approach concerning Holocene meander belts and delta systems. Necessarily he had to assume that when one meander belt or delta complex was abandoned because of an upstream diversion, a new one quickly began forming in a new location and the old one rapidly deteriorated. This concept was readily endorsed by archaeologists because it implied simple site/landform associations. When a channel was abandoned, environmental changes took place that triggered human responses.

By the 1970s, it was recognized that the situation was far more complex, and apparently there was considerable overlap of the dates of meander belts and delta complexes (Saucier 1974). In the deltaic plain, strong evidence emerged indicating that, during most of the Holocene, at least two delta complexes were active at the same time. This was especially the case with the Lafourche and St. Bernard complexes as determined from scores of radiocarbon dates (Frazier 1967).

By the 1990s, I had proposed a new chronological scenario for the alluvial valley, albeit a simplistic one (Saucier 1994). Attention was restricted to whole meander belts, and no attempt was made to estimate the ages of individual abandoned channels or courses. Unfortunately, it must be recognized that whereas there are hundreds of meaningful radiocarbon dates from geological contexts in the deltaic plain (e.g., Frazier 1967), there are at most a few dozen from the entire alluvial valley. A few dozen from an area that contains dozens of abandoned course segments and literally more than a thousand abandoned channels! Furthermore, the outlook is not bright. Datable organic materials from diagnostic contexts or provenience are surprisingly scarce, and I believe that a large percentage of those are known to be contaminated with lignite or other "dead" river-borne carbonaceous materials (Thorne and Curry 1983).

When my chronological model is translated into paleogeographic condi-

tions at selected intervals, some interesting situations are illustrated. It is quite apparent in my reconstruction for the Yazoo Basin that there were several intervals or periods when the flow of the Mississippi River was divided between two meander belts, each of significant size (Saucier 1974). Having spent considerable time analyzing this situation and analogous ones in the alluvial valley, I am convinced that a single full-flow channel, as we have known the Mississippi River in historic times, is an unusual situation as far as the Holocene is concerned. The complications this situation presents to archaeologists are evident!

A New Era

Heretofore in geomorphological studies and mapping in the alluvial valley, concepts and investigative tools (e.g., topographic maps, aerial photos, and drilling equipment) as well as the demands of the sponsors have mostly limited their scopes to rather large features such as the natural levees, abandoned channels, and point bar accretion areas (for example, Saucier 1964, 1967) of the major rivers such as the Mississippi, Arkansas, and Red. During this decade, however, new concepts and tools have been available, and sponsors increasingly are seeing the need for a higher resolution in viewing landforms and deposits. Modern studies are also demanding consideration of archaeological data and, at the same time, are marking a whole new era of geoarchaeological possibilities (Britsch and Dunbar 1990). An example is presented below.

Virtually all physical and social scientists of the Lower Mississippi Valley are familiar with deltaic plain distributaries of the Mississippi River. These are marked by linear natural levee ridges that form a skeletal-like framework of relatively high ground in the midst of broad expanses of coastal wetlands (Saucier 1994). Naturally, they were the focus of most prehistoric occupation.

Similar features have been known since the days of Fisk to occur along several rivers in the alluvial valley, but they have not been mapped and essentially have been ignored. Alluvial valley distributaries are analogous in form and causal processes to deltaic ones, only they are not nearly as conspicuous in the landscape (Saucier 1994).

Editor's Note: The following text is taken from a second paper delivered by Roger Saucier at the Southeastern Archaeology Conference, on November 11, 1999.

The association of many important mound sites with distributaries is far from coincidental. Not meander belts—but distributaries!

As in the deltaic plain, alluvial valley distributaries originated as crevasses and developed as fingers of higher ground in wetland areas. Undoubtedly these

fingers served as important corridors for movement of both game and humans between larger meander belt ridges and highly productive backswamp areas. There are literally thousands of miles of these small distributary ridges in the alluvial valley, some extending for many tens of miles.

Within the last few years, a close look at both alluvial valley and deltaic distributaries has suggested that a recognized but seldom mentioned phenomenon deserves far more consideration. This involves the formation of deep swamp to lake conditions when distributaries intersect or merge with valley walls and temporarily block or retard the runoff of local precipitation.

These ephemeral lakes in both the valley and the delta apparently played important roles in prehistoric economies and settlement patterns. Undoubtedly they were important sources of aquatic plants and animals, but at the same time they precluded permanent habitation over fairly large areas. It is certainly not coincidental, however, that sites have been found to cluster around the margins of the former lakes and especially at the streams that served as their outlets.

In the last several decades, dozens of individuals and firms have conducted hundreds of cultural resources surveys. These have identified many new sites in both the delta and the alluvial valley that have highlighted some significant problems and anomalies in earlier work (e.g., Haag 1996; Kidder 1996; Lafferty and Price 1996; Thorne and Curry 1983; Törnqvist et al. 1996; Weinstein et al. 1979; Weinstein and Kelly 1992).

Historically, archaeology in the Mississippi River deltaic plain has been relatively simple. Hard, hot, wet, and dirty, yes, but still relatively simple. Just look for shells. The vast majority of sites were shell mounds or middens composed at least in part by oyster or *Rangia* shells. A few earth middens without shell had been found, mostly by accident. But with the advent of systematic surveys with shovel tests, and especially with testing and coring, the list of nonshell sites began to grow rapidly. I predict they will be the primary focus of deltaic plain archaeology in the next several decades. I believe that shell middens primarily were temporary or seasonal, special exploitation sites. More and more sites that apparently were permanent villages are being discovered inland from the coastal marshes on distributaries. Thus I believe we are on the road to understanding the full spectrum of deltaic plain life in prehistoric times.

In the alluvial valley, we will continue to refine our channel chronology. We will also have much to learn from continuing studies of the distributary and lake systems on major tributaries of the Mississippi.

Looking back at fifty or so years of geomorphology in the Lower Mississippi Valley, several conclusions can be reached. Thanks to Fisk and later workers, we have a sound understanding of fluvial and deltaic processes, and we are continuing to make refinements. In terms of an alluvial valley chronological

model, we are finally charting a new course after following a wrong heading for several decades. However, because of limitations on obtaining meaningful radiocarbon dates and other evidence, I doubt that a detailed channel chronology such as Fisk attempted will ever be attained. In the deltaic plain, a basic model is available, but some serious problems need to be resolved.

Yes, geomorphology has indeed contributed greatly to archaeology. But where would geomorphology be without archaeology? Nowhere other than in a major river valley are the two sciences so mutually dependent, as work in the Yazoo Basin of Mississippi and in southeast Missouri has demonstrated.

PART II

States

6 Some Ruminations on the Archaeology of Southeast Missouri

Stephen Williams

Introduction

To start with, where is Southeast Missouri, and why do I care to ruminate about it? This northernmost region of the Lower Mississippi River Valley lies west of the mouth of the Ohio River and south of Cape Girardeau, at the very head of the great Mississippi embayment that stretches almost five hundred miles south to the Gulf of Mexico. My concern for the archaeology of this special area goes back more than fifty years.

I will begin with a tale of a young lad, but seven years of age, who in 1793 was shipped west, all alone, via a flatboat from Pittsburgh to the small French town of Ste. Genevieve on the Mississippi. He was sent by his widowed father, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, to spend a few years learning French and other matters at the hands of a local family who at that time lived on the very edge of civilization. The youngster's trip back to his father's home in Pittsburgh took more than a year, but that is another tale.

In the Spring of 1810 Henry Marie Brackenridge, now a young man of twenty-one years with schooling in the law, would return to this same area via similar transportation (the steamboat was a few years in the future) and land in yet another Mississippi river town. The settlement was first called Greasy Bend by the French, Nuevo Madrid by the later Spanish owners, and when the young Brackenridge arrived in 1810, New *Madrid* by the mixed French, English, and Spanish residents, at least in terms of the local twentieth-century parlance. While there, he reported valuable archaeological information, some of the first in this part of the Lower Mississippi Valley (Brackenridge 1814).

Now, although some practitioners of the history of American archaeology are wont to see the period of 1780 to 1850 as one characterized by "speculation,"

I think that there were a vast number of investigators from Jefferson on who used their observations to come to rather solid factual conclusions as to what the ancient monuments that they saw and measured really were. Brackenridge was surely one of those, whose contact to Mr. Jefferson was through his father, a well-known figure in eastern United States politics and intellectual matters.

The young Brackenridge walked, I presume, to a large mound site a few miles west of New Madrid and measured it quite carefully (Brackenridge 1814, 1818). We are left to speculate as to where he got his interest in these ancient remains, but one can suspect that his father might have gotten the flier from the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia (1798) requesting that interested persons record the ancient monuments in their region. Jefferson was directly behind this document that was a result of his well-noted concerns about archaeology during his long tenure (1797–1814) as president of that Society.

Brackenridge then headed north from New Madrid via the old trail, now dignified as the Camino Real, first to his earlier home in Ste. Genevieve and finally to St. Louis, which he made his headquarters for two busy years (1810–1812). In terms of our interest here, Brackenridge then made two trips across the river to the great site of Cahokia and recorded his impressions, first in newspaper articles and more permanently in his well-known volume *Views of Louisiana* (1814). More important for Lower Mississippi archaeology, he would later write a letter to Jefferson from Baton Rouge in 1813 after seeing even more sites on his trip south. This letter would be published by the Philosophical Society in 1818 about his archaeological discoveries including the New Madrid mound.

Thus early in the nineteenth century, Southeast Missouri archaeological sites would be recorded in well-noted publications. Also by the 1820s, some amateur excavations or “extractions” were taking place in the region. One of the many new residents to Southeast Missouri as a result of the land rush following the Louisiana Purchase was a Virginian, Newman Beckwith, the grandfather of Thomas Beckwith, whom we will meet later in the century. Newman Beckwith recovered a carafe-necked water bottle from a site in Southeast Missouri eroding out of the riverbank. In 1823 he sent it to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. This was one of the first of thousands of similar Mississippian vessels that would be extracted from this region later in that century (Williams 1991b:95).

Early Fieldwork in the Region

Another, more orderly, excavation would later take place at none other than Brackenridge’s New Madrid site on the southern end of Sikeston Ridge, now referred to as the Lilbourn site. Here in the fall and winter of 1856–57,

Professor George Clinton Swallow would undertake a major dig in the main flat-topped mound of that large mound group. Swallow was a New Englander educated at Bowdoin College in Maine, where his major science professor, Cleaveland Parker, was a Harvard-trained geologist. Swallow was at that time a professor at the University in Columbia as well as Missouri State geologist. Time will not allow for details of his excavation in that mound except to say that the swath he cut through the thirty-foot-high mound is still visible today (Swallow 1858). Whatever critique we might make today of his methods, the important fact is that almost twenty years later (1873–1874) his collection of artifacts would be purchased by the Harvard Peabody Museum and written up briefly by Frederic W. Putnam and illustrated in their Annual Report (Putnam 1875).

We are getting ahead of our story, however. It would be only after the Civil War, which actually visited Southeast Missouri for a brief but bloody battle at Belmont on the banks of the Mississippi not far from the Crosno site, that important changes would come to the region sometimes derogatorily referred to as “swampeast Missouri.” The coming of the railroads in the 1860s opened up this strange mixture of swamp and very fertile soils to logging and then expansive settlement. First on Sikeston Ridge, which runs in a straight north-south direction, and later in the newly open farm lands surrounding it, archaeological sites and their ceramic contents came popping up. “In 1879 and 1880 . . . a regular mining fever . . . broke out” near the town of Charleston for these pottery vessels, according to Cyrus Thomas of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Thomas 1894:183).

A Golden Age of Archaeology

There were two results, both the disasters so disparagingly described by Thomas and, from my perspective, a “Golden Age” of Southeast Missouri archaeology. Yes, hundreds, nay thousands, of ceramic vessels were wrenched from the ground and sold to museums and private collectors across the country. And yes, both the Yale and the Harvard Peabody Museums were in on those purchases. Also it is no secret that I personally have been both a resident scholar in each of those museums and an individual who benefited from those acquisitions. Unlike some such collections that went on the market, most, but not all, of those that I studied had good site provenience. Of course, the Bureau of American Ethnology would later (1880s) come and do its own more careful excavations, so its shelves are not barren of quite well-documented Southeast Missouri specimens either.

Thus the nineteenth-century archaeological literature of Southeast Missouri, unfortunately not well known to all twentieth-century scholars, boasts more than thirty articles, short monographs, and significant descriptions on

these Mississippian sites. No, I shan't tell you about them all; two will suffice. First there is the magnificent monograph by Professor William Potter and Dr. Edward Evers on sites on Sikeston Ridge (Potter and Evers 1880). The beautiful site maps were done at Potter's instruction; he was a Washington University scholar in engineering and geology. Also there was surely the earliest "settlement survey" map in Eastern American archaeology, showing "occupied areas" (Figure 6.1). Although a publication of the St. Louis Academy of Science, this volume was actually printed by F. W. Putnam (of the Peabody Museum) and his Naturalists Press in Salem, Massachusetts.

The other report is also from a member of the St. Louis Academy of Science, a Mr. C. Croswell. Although I have not been able to find out more about him, he carried out an excavation at one of the sites on Sikeston Ridge recorded by Potter (probably East Lake), and his 1878 short article is a gem. Not just interested in whole vessels, he provides us with a discussion of a large ceramic fragment of what we now call a Wickliffe funnel. With great foresight, Croswell suggested that these vessels might have served as "culinary filters" (Croswell 1878). I would agree, but that is another story.

Then in the 1880s came the work of the Bureau of American Ethnology via its Mound Survey run by Cyrus Thomas. Its field excavations in Southeast Missouri (1881–1886) are too well known to warrant much detail here. The importance of this work to later developments in American archaeology is also too evident to need attention here. By both the twelfth bulletin (Thomas 1891), giving site locations, and the twelfth annual report (Thomas 1894:168–197), the richness of Southeast Missouri archaeological resources was made known to a very wide audience.

One fact that has been overlooked is that Cyrus Thomas was in the 1870s a professor at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale before he went to Washington. Some of the very first researches of the Mound Survey were carried out just across the river in nearby Southeast Missouri. Thus, I think it very likely that Thomas knew of the archaeological depredations being carried out around Charleston, Missouri, in the 1870s through some firsthand knowledge.

Now to the important Smithsonian work in Southeast Missouri. It covered the entire region from the Cairo Lowlands in the east to its western edge in the Advance Lowlands. In the north-south coverage, however, the Bureau did not venture much south of New Madrid. The typical mound sites, often walled, were researched carefully, both in the Cairo Lowlands (Beckwith's Fort) and in the west (Power's Fort), as well as some large but more enigmatic sites on the Malden Plain, such as Rich Woods. The Pinhook Ridge site, called "Beckwith's Ranch," was one of the most productive in terms of ceramics (Thomas 1894:168–197).

One direct outcome of the Bureau's work in Southeast Missouri was inter-

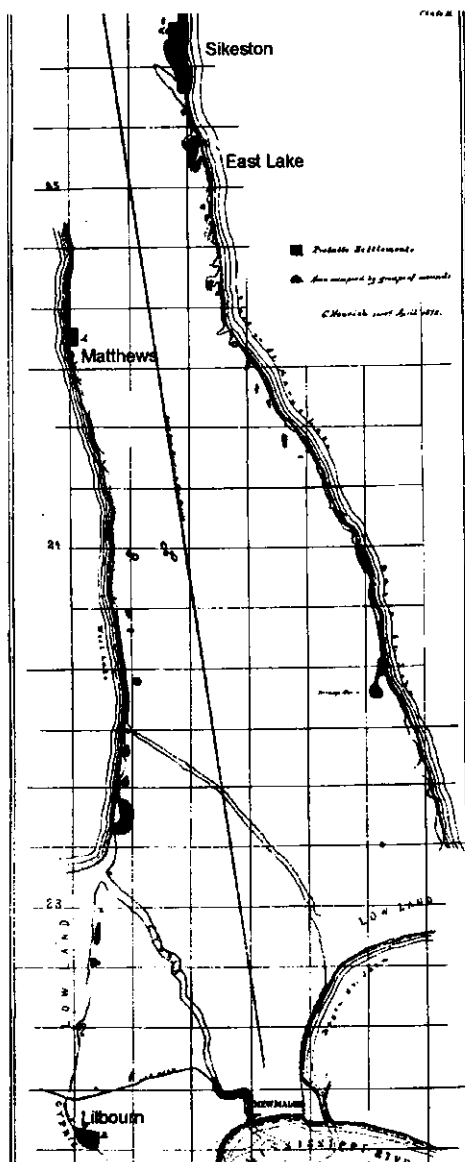


Figure 6.1. Map of Sikeston Ridge done in 1880 by Potter and Evers. (Site names added by author.)

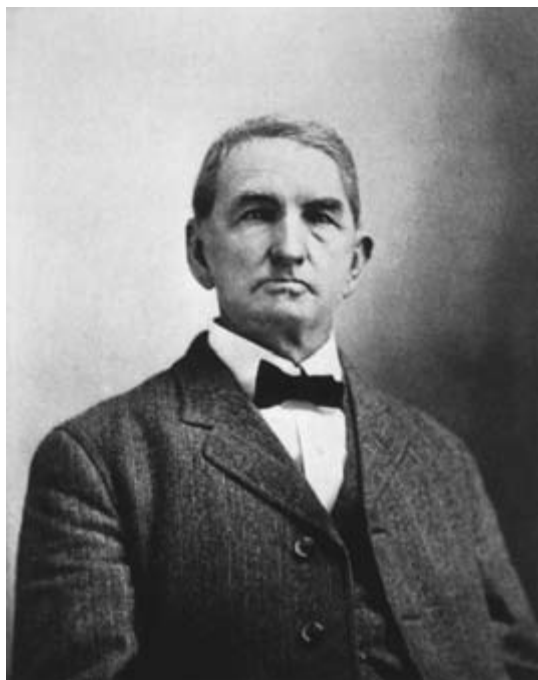


Figure 6.2. Thomas Beckwith.

action between some of their fieldworkers and a local interested amateur named Thomas Beckwith, grandson of Newman Beckwith. A landowner with many holdings, Beckwith would become, from the late 1880s until his death in 1913, an avid and quite careful collector (Beckwith 1887). Just before his death he wrote a book on his work and accumulated collection (Beckwith 1911). The latter was donated to a local college in Cape Girardeau, now known as Southeast Missouri State University, where it still resides. Beckwith's excavations brought to light the first data on Poverty Point period clay objects, not too unlike those known at the type site in Louisiana. Many decades later, in the summer of 1950, I would confirm the existence of this late Archaic culture in Southeast Missouri by excavations on farm land probably once owned by the Beckwith family.

Early-twentieth-century Archaeology, 1900–1941

By the turn of the century the “golden days” of Southeast Missouri were over. There were brief visits by two quite well-known archaeologists. First was Gerard Fowke, who in 1909 found the region “dug out” as far as he could

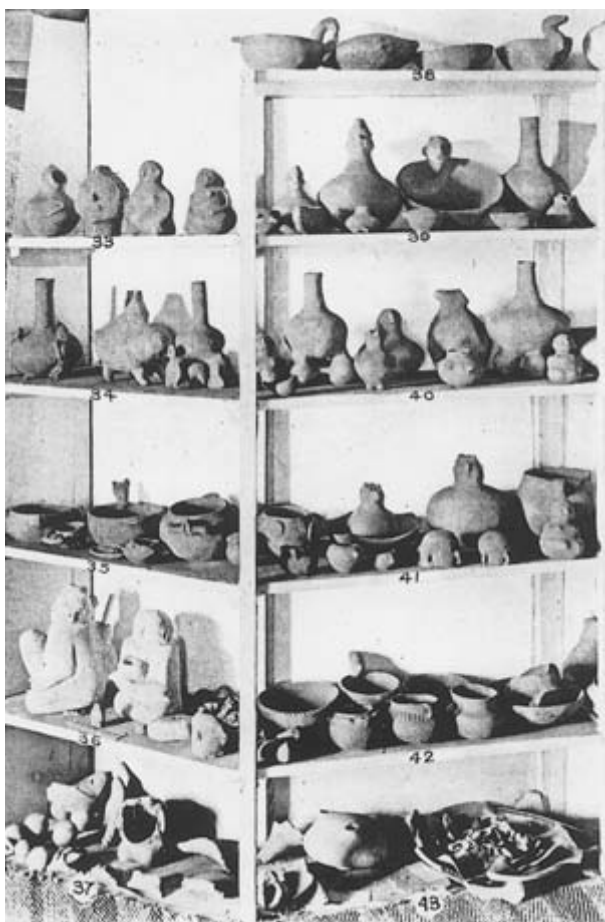


Figure 6.3. Beckwith collection.

see, according to his report to the Bureau of American Ethnology staff that paid for his visit (Fowke 1910). Next came none other than the indefatigable Clarence B. Moore in 1916 in the intrepid *Gopher*. He would concur with Fowke; there was little of interest left in the region as far as he was concerned (Moore 1916). And so it went through the Twenties too; there was little or no recorded archaeological activity at all.

It was only in the middle 1930s that significant interest was revived. Here the impetus derived the federal programs of the Depression, but they came just before the war broke out and shut down the programs.

Winslow Walker (who had done some Lower Valley work for the Smithsonian) and Robert McCormick Adams (not the Middle Eastern specialist)

were University of Chicago graduate students and would be the first modern trained fieldworkers to dig in Southeast Missouri.

Walker and Adams first did some modest site survey work with minor surface collections. Then they settled on the Matthews site, one of those mapped by Potter on Sikeston Ridge. Their research program at this large Mississippian village site with a wall and ditch was to be the most extensive site excavation carried out in the region for decades. It was reported in 1946 in a rather small volume (Walker and Adams 1946). Having recently seen the extent of the materials recovered, now at Washington University, I think it would certainly benefit Southeast Missouri archaeology if the collections were to be reexamined and put more fully on record now.

My Fieldwork in Southeast Missouri, 1948–1956

In the post–World War II period I must at last turn to my own involvement in the archaeology of this interesting area. It all began far away in New Haven, Connecticut, where in the academic year 1948–49, I undertook the study of a nineteenth-century collection of Mound Builder artifacts from the site of Sandy Woods at the Yale Peabody Museum for my senior honors project. This choice came at the suggestion of my professor, Irving Rouse, when I appeared in his office without a clue as to what I might write about. The collection had been made by Horatio N. Rust of Chicago in the Spring of 1876 and sold later that year to Yale. It had never been studied, and I rather naively looked at the more than five hundred pots with glee. Really an overwhelming number, as I now well know. Potter had worked there, too; his collection is at the Harvard Peabody Museum.

By sheer chance, my family and I were in St. Louis just before Christmas of 1948. By that time I had studied the letters and map forwarded to Peabody by Rust with the collection. With a little map study, old and new, I knew quite clearly about where the Sandy Woods site was located. So nothing else would do than for my father and brother to join me in a more than one-hundred-mile trek south from St. Louis to Diehlstadt. We did indeed find the site and surface collected there, very unsystematically. The site owner told me that they were going to tear down the large conical mound, so we returned some days later and saw the wreckage under way. It was later completely leveled. I have never been able to get any information as to what was found therein.

So I had gotten Missouri mud on my shoes for the first time, and my career in archaeology was bent in an irreversible manner to the Lower Mississippi Valley. I was born on the banks of the Upper Mississippi Valley in Minneapolis, so I had a heritage in that direction as well.

In June of 1949 I finished my Honors thesis for my undergraduate degree

at Yale (Williams 1949). I then turned to Jimmy Griffin at the University of Michigan, whom I had earlier looked to for help with my Sandy Woods surface collection at Ben Rouse's suggestion (Williams 1976). I thus enrolled for an M.A. degree at Ann Arbor. As fate would have it, Griffin had by this time, 1949, already written, but not published, a paper on Southeast Missouri archaeology for the Cole festschrift (Griffin 1952a). Knowing my prior interest in the region, Griffin added a surface survey project in Southeast Missouri to his already-planned program at Cahokia for the summer of 1950. He teamed me up with Edward Scully, a Beloit graduate and my cohort at Ann Arbor, to undertake fieldwork in that region.

Field Season, 1950

My own preparations for this work were modest. I had had a month of field school in Minnesota under Lloyd Wilford in the summer of 1947 and then a full season at Point of Pines in Arizona under Emil Haury in the summer of 1949, where I had done a little surface collecting. Most of my summer was spent digging a ninth-century Mogollon pithouse on Crooked Ridge under Joe Ben Wheat's direction. Fortunately, Ed Scully had done some previous field survey and also knew a lot more about mineralogy than I did. In June of 1950, Griffin sent us south entirely on our own from St. Louis, where the Cahokia project was headquartered. We were never visited in the field by any trained archaeologists for the next three seasons (1950–52). Our mistakes were thus all our own.

We went out for a couple of weeks at a time. Headquartered in Charleston, we first visited some of the major sites such as Hoecake and Beckwith's Fort. Later we used both University of Missouri site data and informants to find and surface survey a great many other sites.

We would then return to St. Louis, where we washed and sorted our collections in the Old Court House in downtown St. Louis and learned typology under the watchful eye of Griffin (Williams 1992:195–196). Al Spaulding was directing the excavations at Cahokia. When researching Southeast Missouri, Griffin had come upon the book on the region's archaeology by Thomas Beckwith and discovered that his collection was housed at a Cape Girardeau college. Having had "some" practice in photographing my Sandy Woods pots at Yale, I was next sent down in July to record that collection with the aid of Lothar P. Witteborg, a graduate student who was getting his first exposure to field archaeology that summer on the Cahokia dig.

In the rare Beckwith volume, Griffin's careful eyes had spied Poverty Point-like objects. We did some hundred or more photos, recording the collection in about a week. Then it was back into the field with Ed Scully for at least two

more sessions of surface collecting, mainly in the eastern counties of Southeast Missouri. Finally in mid-August I was sent down solo to “test” the Burkett and Weems sites on O’Bryan Ridge. Here, thanks to Leo Anderson, whose collection we had already seen in Van Buren, Missouri, we knew where these interesting clay objects had been found. We had also done a previous surface survey there. Also, the Jaketown site, with similar clay objects, had already been found by Griffin in 1941 and tested by the Lower Mississippi Survey in 1946 (Phillips et al. 1951:273).

With the aid of Charles Burkett, the current tenant farmer at the site, I hired some local hands to work with me on a series of four test pits on the two sites. All this digging was done in little more than a week (Williams 1991b:96–97). Though something less than archaeological works of art, these excavations were enough to convince Griffin that I had shown that these large clay objects were indeed in preceramic levels. He put that finding in print very quickly (Griffin and Spaulding 1952; also Griffin 1952a:228 fn. 23).

Field Season, 1951

In the fall of 1950, I returned to Yale to continue my graduate work there but with Southeast Missouri etched in my soul. This region was where I would do my entire graduate and early postgraduate fieldwork. Ed Scully and I returned to the field in 1951, now seasoned surveyors. It was during this summer that we took on the western portion of Southeast Missouri and discovered the Varney site and its amazing red pottery, documenting, as we now know, Early Mississippian. Around Crowley’s Ridge we also saw collections made by amateurs that put Paleo-Indian materials on our radar screen with some fluted points and many Daltons, already so-named by Griffin. Scully would also perform another first that summer under Griffin’s direction: he put together a series of type descriptions for a handful of named projectile points for the St. Louis area (Scully 1951), a common thing today, but then a pioneering step. On my side, I had returned with Scully to revisit the Crosno site, much stirred by Leo Anderson’s earlier testing there with Carl Chapman. It would be my dissertation site.

Field Season, 1952

The following summer would see both Scully and myself undertake a major excavation program in Southeast Missouri on our own. We divided the some one hundred sites we had located and collected. I took the half that was mainly Mississippian, whereas Ed took the fifty other earlier ceramic sites. Gene Koslovich, a Michigan grad student, assisted him, and I had a Yale under-

grad to help me. Unlike Ed, I had a crew of hired hands and dug exclusively at Crosno, while Ed focused on the Baytown period, broadly considered, with excavations at three or four sites, including LaPlant and Double Bridges. Tragically, Ed left archaeology a few years later, and all his notes were destroyed. The collections remain in Ann Arbor.

Crosno was my first major excavation, and I had a lot to learn. Fieldwork there began in mid-July because I could not get field hands until the crops were “laid by.” Thus the first part of that 1952 season was spent, at Griffin’s suggestion, visiting sites and collectors in northeast Arkansas on both the St. Francis and White Rivers. Then I turned to Crosno. Excavations and collection processing continued till early October. It was a great site with deep stratigraphy (possibly with deep mixing, however), great structural remains, and wonderful preservation of faunal remains (Williams 1954a). It was a major learning process, one that was again unaided by any outside oversight. No archaeologists visited my dig. I had a great crew, and I learned a lot about life in a broader sense from them. Those lessons I have not forgotten.

After the 1952 season, I would return to Yale to do my analysis of the data, again virtually on my own because Rouse was quite unfamiliar with those materials. That is not said in a negative way, just as a statement of fact. I did get a great analysis of the faunal materials from Robert Goslin of the Ohio State Museum on nearly five thousand specimens. I completed my dissertation by May of 1954, taking several months in late 1953 to study and photograph the Hampson collection at Nodena Plantation near Wilson, Arkansas (Williams 1954b). This latter foray was at the request of James B. Griffin and Philip Phillips, who sponsored this strangely timed operation. Their concern was that Dr. Hampson would die before data on the collection had been carefully secured. Hey, I should have been working on my dissertation, but I made my deadline to complete my graduate degrees in five years nonetheless.

Amidst all this, I moved to Cambridge in January of 1954 to work with Phil Phillips. I would then stay at Peabody for just three months short of forty years, find my wife there, and have an interesting career in that old red brick building. I was also lucky enough to get a rare postdoctoral grant from the National Science Foundation for two years (1955–56) that allowed me to do everything from studying with a fine Pleistocene geologist, John Miller, to writing a number of papers (Williams 1957a, 1957b). I also was actually able to spend some more time each summer in Southeast Missouri. Here I revisited sites, made friends with other collectors, and got to understand the region even better because I had the pleasure of touring it for a few days with Phil Phillips. He had never been there before. Many years later, I made the same sort of trip with Jimmy Griffin.

I would then take up in the fall of 1957 a teaching appointment at Harvard

that would last until July of 1993. Although I often revisited Southeast Missouri in the succeeding years to see archaeological friends such as Leo Anderson, Harryette Campbell, and Jim Price, I never carried out anymore fieldwork there. My interests shifted to the south, with the Lower Mississippi Survey carrying me all the way to the Gulf at Avery Island.

Southeast Missouri Archaeology, 1957–2000

In terms of the history of archaeology in the last forty some years, I will choose to leave that mainly to others to describe in detail. There was a lot of important highway salvage in the middle 1960s and 1970s. Carl Chapman and other resident archaeologists were mainly involved. Site destruction of especially the mounds would approach catastrophic proportions. Due to land leveling I would estimate that almost 50 percent of the sites recorded by Scully and me were severely damaged. Also, although I may be prejudiced, in the mid-1970s a terribly important project directed by James B. Griffin and one of his students, Jim Price, would be funded by the National Science Foundation and carried out in exemplary fashion. This was the well-known Powers Phase Project, which set new standards for execution and results in the region (Price 1978; Price and Griffin 1979).

In the following decades, sometime-resident Dr. Robert Dunnell and Professors Michael J. O'Brien and R. Lee Lyman of the University of Missouri would undertake a series of far-reaching research programs and dissertations with their students. Because they have both written at length on these researches, I would fain not to comment further on them; see O'Brien and Lyman (1999a) for references. There were new philosophies (evolutionists and essentialists), new methods (nonsite surveys), and new typologies (no phases); these are just a bit beyond me (O'Brien and Dunnell 1998; see also comments thereon by McNutt 1999; Muller 1999).

Southeast Missouri Archaeology in Review, 1950–2000

Now let us look broadly over the last fifty years at what I think have been some of the major topics of significance in the archaeology of the Southeast Missouri region.

1. *Dating.* With the advent of C-14 dating methods in the 1950s there was a change of a magnitude that most scholars today can hardly conceive. The overall geological time frame did not change much; only some revisions of late Pleistocene did, for example. Nevertheless, the expansion in the chronology of archaeology was amazing, with the Archaic many thousands of years old and even ceramics some thousands of years old. Mississippian times were then

drawn out to nearly one thousand years, when it once was just a whisper before the Spanish arrived. Hard to believe I know, but that's what the world of eastern North America had looked like before 1950.

2. *Geology*. Here, too, radiocarbon dating changed these parameters, but the most important change came when the then-new Mississippi Valley geological history, finished just before World War II by Harold Fisk (1944) and taken as the gospel in Lower Valley geology for some decades, was challenged. The Lower Mississippi Survey and others had made important use of Fisk's work. There was now more time thanks to the new radiocarbon dates, but there also had to be a total revision of the complex channel changes that Fisk had so strongly set forth. Roger Saucier was the leader in that important intellectual shift. His chapter in this volume details these new developments. It is thus true that the archaeologist now working in the Lower Valley cannot operate intelligently without this up-to-date geological information.

3. *Historic archaeology*. This field of research arose in importance in the 1960s as a result of a myriad of new interests in both tribal and national history. The period from A.D. 1500 on was finally recognized as a viable subject of inquiry. Although only modestly carried out in Southeast Missouri, many of the CRM projects would by the late 1970s require some concern for these recent happenings. These concerns continue to this day, but still with few purely "historic" projects undertaken. This area is one that needs more attention in the archaeology of this region.

4. *Settlement Pattern study*. Although I wrote an article in the 1950s that lightly touched on this subject (Williams 1957b), there have been only a few examples that one can mention in the more recent decades. Certainly the Powers Phase program dealt with that topic in a period-specific manner, and at a much earlier time frame, work on Dalton period distributions has been done as well (Lafferty and Price 1996). The most recent and thorough application of such interest has been that of Robert Lafferty and his cohort, especially in the region encompassing O'Bryan Ridge. This exemplary study covers that last four thousand years in some detail (Lafferty and Hess 1996).

5. *The environment*. I mention this topic as a matter of concern rather than being able to write much about major contributions in the past half century. I believe that studies of the environment of this complex region we call Southeast Missouri are long overdue. Yes, there are at last some pollen diagrams, thanks again to Robert Lafferty's group, but there has not been any real focus on the exquisitely difficult problem of trying to reconstruct the landscape history of this very strongly differentiated landscape from Crowley's Ridge on the west to the tangle of Mississippi channel relics on the east. All one has to do to get a great sense of environmental data loss is to read Thomas Beckwith's descriptions of what life in Mississippi County, Missouri, was like when he was

growing up on a plantation in the 1840s: the sky was alive with birds, and wild-life of every sort filled the land (Beckwith undated). Most of those creatures, such as the Passenger Pigeons, Carolina Parakeets, and Ivory Bill Woodpeckers, no longer exist there today. Regrettably, the same is true of the flora as well, such as huge oaks and cypress trees one hundred or more feet tall and giant cane more than thirty feet tall. “It ain’t what it use to be” even if our perspective is only the 150 years since Beckwith’s youth. Still, we really need to consider the more than twelve thousand years that we must encompass in our study of the archaeological past in Southeast Missouri.

Conclusion

These ruminations, lengthy as they may seem, cover only a very modest area and the mass of available data on it in a very personal and hurried manner. I confess I love this region, and want to know still more about it. That hope will have to be carried forward by others. For myself it is enough to say I have never regretted my decision in 1948 to study the Sandy Woods site collection and where that choice led me.

7 Pot Hunters, Salvage, and Science in Arkansas, 1900–2000

Hester A. Davis

Dividing the history of archaeology in Arkansas into three parts seems traditional enough, but pot hunting, salvage, and scientific approaches to the past are all still with us. A woman was killed recently in Arkansas by the cave-in of a burrow she had made under a rock in a bluff shelter “looking for arrow-heads,” according to a local newscast. The Arkansas Archeological Survey, with many volunteers, salvaged a great deal of information in June 1999 from a large Woodland site laid bare by a land leveler. The rest of the research going on in the state, by whatever sponsorship, is for the most part real science.

Interest in the mounds and artifacts of Arkansas started much earlier than 1900, of course. In 1878, Mrs. Gilbert Knapp wrote the Smithsonian Institution about the large mounds on her property a few miles southeast of Little Rock. This site is known in the literature both as the Knapp Mounds and as the Toltec site. In that year, Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian is reported to have contracted with a doctor in Osceola (in extreme northeast Arkansas) “to open mounds in the area and send specimens to Washington” (Morse and Morse 1983:18). And for the next twenty years, “Capt” C. W. Riggs gathered “mound-builder pottery” from Central Mississippi Valley sites, including many in eastern Arkansas (Brose 1980:149); that collection seems to have ended up in several midwestern and eastern museums. In 1886, the Davenport Academy of Natural Science in Iowa published a description by W. H. Holmes of its Mississippian pottery collection, the vast majority of which came from Arkansas. In fact, we discovered that seventy-one institutions around the country had collections of Arkansas material, almost all acquired around the turn of the century. Collectors have told us that “thousands” of pots have been dug at many of the big late Mississippian sites in northeast Arkansas.

All of this activity undoubtedly ensured that Arkansas was included in the

Bureau of Ethnology's mound survey in the 1880s. Edward Palmer came to Arkansas in 1881, working on and off until 1884. We know the details of his work because of Marvin Jeter's research on the Smithsonian records and those in the National Anthropological Archives (Jeter 1990). Cyrus Thomas's *Report on the Mound Explorations* (1894) contained his version of Palmer's field reports. Although there was much to be desired in Palmer's techniques and records (Jeter 1990:70), at least there were some excavation records, and artifacts were catalogued by provenience. One hesitates, however, to say this was the beginning of "science" in Arkansas archaeology.

About the turn of the century, news of perishable material in the dry bluff shelters of the Ozark Mountains in northwest Arkansas began to filter through to the east coast. M. R. Harrington of the Museum of the American Indian recounts that he first saw items from northern Arkansas in a collection in southern Missouri in 1908 (Harrington 1960:4) and learned that a man near Eureka Springs had been digging in a shelter and selling cordage and split cane objects. Harrington was not able to follow through on this potential until 1922 and 1923, when he dug in at least twenty-two shelters in the course of eight months of fieldwork (Harrington 1924).

Another "foreigner" who invaded Arkansas was Clarence B. Moore. Moore began his investigations in our state in February 1908 (Moore 1908:481), working along the Lower Arkansas River from its mouth to just west of Little Rock. His last trip was in 1916, and by that time he had plied the waters of the Mississippi (Moore 1911) almost up to the Missouri border; the St. Francis, Black, and White Rivers (Moore 1910); the interior of northeast Arkansas; and the Ouachita and Red Rivers (Moore 1909, 1912, 1913) in southwest Arkansas. He investigated thousands of graves, and he produced his reports in record time through the Philadelphia Academy of Science. Little has been done, however, with the raw data that exists from these works.

The first investigations in Arkansas by the Museum of the American Indian began in 1916, when M. R. Harrington came to the Red River in southwest Arkansas. The area had been recommended to the Museum by C. B. Moore because, according to Harrington, "there are sections it has not been practicable for him to reach" (Harrington 1920:13). Harrington intended to work at sites directly on the Red River, but floods forced him further north, where he spent a total of almost two years excavating Caddoan mounds on Ozan Creek, Little River, and as far north as Hot Springs.

S. C. Dellinger came to the University of Arkansas in 1921, and, although a zoologist by profession, he had a great interest in archaeology. In 1925 he was put in charge of the small University of Arkansas Museum and its varied collections. He must have known of Palmer's early work and of Moore's almost yearly visits. Harrington was working nearby in the bluff shelters when Dellin-

ger arrived in Fayetteville. In 1929 and 1930, spurred by the massive amount of looting going on and his patriotic zeal to keep Arkansas history for Arkansans, Dellinger hired crews paid for with private donations to excavate a few sites that were going to be affected by the creation of Lake Ouachita on the upper Ouachita River just west of Hot Springs (Dellinger 1930, 1931). The dam was being built by Arkansas Power and Light Company, and the president of the company seems to have provided some of the funds. Although the collections are in the University Museum, no notes or photographs from the fieldwork have been found.

It was in the early 1930s that two other “intruders” came to Arkansas, both publishing on their fieldwork. Winslow Walker, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, came to the eastern Ozarks in 1931, and in seven weeks “some 16 caves in the neighborhood of Buffalo River in parts of Marion and Searcy counties were explored and three were carefully excavated” (Walker 1932:159). Warren K. Moorehead, of the Peabody Museum in Andover, Massachusetts, traveled up the Arkansas River into Oklahoma and made surface collections and described several sites on the south side of the river in Yell County (Moorehead 1931).

Because of his growing concern with the looting and the fast-disappearing artifacts—either to dealers or to eastern museums—in 1930 Dellinger successfully applied to the Carnegie Foundation for a grant of \$20,000. In the depths of the Depression, then, he began investigations in the bluff shelters of the Ozarks and in Mississippian cemeteries in northeastern and central Arkansas. Before he sent his students to the field for this work, however, he consulted with his friend Dr. Carl Guthe, then Director of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, who provided instruction to Dellinger and his students on field excavation and recording techniques.

Over the course of the next several years, more than eighty bluff shelters were investigated by the Museum, including most of those in which Harrington had dug (Figure 7.1). The field notebooks for this work are a font of information and frustrating for what they lack. Although no site reports or overall summary of this work has ever appeared, Dellinger and some of his colleagues did publish an article on baby cradles made of woven strips of cane in the first issue of *American Antiquity* (Dellinger 1936) and on the pottery from the shelters some six years later (Dellinger and Dickinson 1942). Melvin Gilmore, the ethnobotanist at the University of Michigan, was sent some of the floral material for study (Gilmore 1932). After Bob McGimsey came to the Museum in 1957, some of his students began study of some of this material. Charles Cleland’s M.A. thesis on the faunal material from the shelters was published (Cleland 1965), as was Sandra Scholtz’s thesis, a technical study of the basketry, cordage, netting, and fabric (Scholtz 1975), and a version of Jerry Hilliard’s the-



Figure 7.1. Cob Cave (3NW6), 1931. Left to right: Walter Lemke, ? Slate, Tom Millard, S. C. Dellinger. (Courtesy of University of Arkansas Museum, neg. no 310028)

sis on a study of the nuts and acorns (Hilliard 1980) was published in 1986 (Hilliard 1986). In addition, Gayle Fritz's 1986 Ph.D. dissertation on the seeds preserved in caches or bags provides the first radiocarbon dates for this material, indicating, among other things, that domesticated sunflower and chenopod were stored in the rock shelters as early as 900 B.C. Much of the material from the bluff shelters, however, remains undescribed and unanalyzed.

In addition to this work in the bluff shelters, part of the Carnegie grant was spent excavating in cemeteries in northeast and central Arkansas. Dellinger sent two of his students to Mississippi and Crittenden Counties in the winter of 1930–31 (Dellinger 1933), where two large cemeteries were excavated. It was during this work that Dellinger probably met Dr. James K. Hampson, who owned the Nodena site. In the 1932 field season, the Museum was invited to excavate there. The two University of Arkansas students first dug with a crew from the Alabama Museum of Natural History led by David DeJarnette and

James DeJarnette, and then the two crews dug in separate areas (Hampson 1989:9–11). Dr. Hampson was a knowledgeable amateur and had dug at Nodena first between 1897 and 1900 and then again in the 1930s. He maintained good records, some of which survive, and all his collections were donated to the state. They are housed in the Henry K. Hampson II Memorial Museum in Wilson, Arkansas.

Dellinger's work with the Carnegie grant money continued in both areas of the state until 1934 or 1935. Little of this work has been published, although Dellinger and S. D. Dickinson did write another article for *American Antiquity* in 1940 titled "Possible Antecedents of the Middle Mississippian Ceramic Complex in Northeastern Arkansas." Certainly Dellinger must be credited with making good effort to put some "science" into the study of Arkansas's prehistory and to let other archaeologists know that the University Museum was doing research.

In 1939, the Works Progress Administration came to Arkansas, and Dellinger was quick to write to the Little Rock office with proposals for archaeological projects that would hire out-of-work men and salvage information being lost to looting or inundation. In fact, two of the sites that he may have worked at on the upper Ouachita River in 1929 and 1930, Poole and Adair, were excavated during the winter of 1939 and 1940. Two other sites, lower down on the Ouachita River, were also excavated by WPA crews. The Poole and Adair sites were multicomponent with both Fourche Maline and Caddoan occupations. Cooper and Means sites were also multicomponent, but earlier, with Fourche Maline and Archaic components (Figure 7.2). W. Raymond Wood analyzed the Poole site material (Wood 1981), and Frank Schambach used the Cooper and Means collections for his Ph.D. dissertation, which has recently been published (Schambach 1998). The Adair material has yet to be studied.

There was also a large laboratory operation at the University Museum during the WPA work, run by S. D. Dickinson, whose name appears as a coauthor on some of the archaeological reports of the time. All the artifacts from Dellinger's previous excavations as well as the WPA work were catalogued, pots were restored, and drawings and maps were made by fine out-of-work artists, but for some reason no photographs were taken of this operation.

It was at this time of reasonably intensive archaeological activity that amateur archaeologists began making themselves known. Judge Harry J. Lemley had for several years hired crews to dig in many sites across southern Arkansas. Sam Dickinson had been a supervisor for some of this work, and Lemley and Dickinson wrote several articles published in the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society's bulletin in the late 1930s. At this time as well, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas L. Hodges of Bismarck (Early 1986) were visited by both Alex Krieger of the University of Texas and Philip Phillips of Harvard University.



Figure 7.2. Means site (3HS3), 1940. Crew working on crest of mound. (Courtesy of University of Arkansas Museum, neg. no. 40-30)

The Hodges had an extensive collection of artifacts from the mid-Ouachita River Valley, and there is little doubt that they introduced Phillips to sites in the area, particularly Bayou Sel, a salt manufacturing site in both prehistoric and historic times, which he tested. In addition, the Hodges would have led Dellinger to the Cooper and Means sites. The Hodges also published several articles on their work and collection in the 1940s (Hodges and Hodges 1943a, 1943b, 1945). A 1943 paper titled “Possibilities for the Archaeologist and Historian in Eastern Arkansas” is based on their interest in the Menard site, identified by Phillips, Ford, and Griffin (1951:414–415) as the Quapaw village of Osotouy near Arkansas Post. With financial help from Phillips, the Hodges had bought much of that site in 1940, specifically to see that it was protected. It was purchased from Mrs. Hodges in the 1980s by The Archaeological Conservancy and will soon become part of the Arkansas Post National Memorial. The Hodges’ large collection is now owned by the Joint Education Consortium in Arkadelphia and has been inventoried and photographed by the Arkansas Archeological Survey. It was also in 1940 that Dellinger, the Hodges, and those amateur historians who had been involved in documenting the Arkansas portion of the De Soto route for Swanton’s study formed the first Arkansas Archeological Society, which did not survive the war.

Nineteen forty is a famous date in Arkansas because it was the beginning of

the Phillips, Ford, and Griffin survey of the Lower Mississippi Valley (Phillips et al. 1951). Their extensive work in Arkansas was done largely in 1940 and 1941 through the whole of the eastern portion of the state. Dellinger was predictably upset by their intrusion into his territory, and he actually wrote to the president of Harvard, the University of Michigan, and the director of the American Museum of Natural History protesting their coming to the state without consulting him.

World War II, of course, put archaeological work in limbo, and it was not until 1948 that things began to come to life again. That year Dellinger hired Lynn Howard, a Ph.D candidate in archaeology at the University of Michigan. Howard worked half-time for the Museum and taught half-time, relieving Dellinger of some of this responsibility. He established a field school in archaeology and in 1949, 1950, and 1952 tested several sites in different parts of the state. He seems to have collaborated with the University of Missouri in a survey of the area to be flooded by Bull Shoals Lake, which straddles the border of our two states. It should be recorded here for historical purposes that Howard took a sabbatical leave for the 1952–53 school year, and Lewis Larson came to Fayetteville to fill in for a year. Howard returned to work in the Museum for a few more years but then dropped out of archaeology. Dellinger succeeded in hiring Charles R. (Bob) McGimsey III to fill the position of Assistant Curator in the fall of 1957.

Official River Basin Surveys work began in Arkansas in 1957. Robert Greengo and a crew from the River Basin Surveys office in Lincoln, Nebraska, surveyed the area to be inundated by Dardanelle Reservoir on the Arkansas River (Greengo 1957), and Warren Wittry was back the next year to test a few of these sites. As was characteristic of the time, no historic sites were investigated, much less recorded. For the Dardenelle area this is a particular loss for Arkansas history because this is the area where many Cherokee came in the late 1790s and lived until 1828. Dwight Mission and the Spadra Factory served this tribe in the early 1800s. Most of these sites are now flooded by the lake.

It was in 1958 also that James A. Ford returned to the Menard site near Arkansas Post. Preston Holder had dug at Arkansas Post in 1956 and 1957, but the Hodges did not want him to dig at Menard. Because Ford was vouched for by Phil Phillips, his investigations were allowed and included several trenches in various parts of the site. He concluded that it was indeed the Quapaw village of Osotouy mentioned by the French in 1686 (Ford 1961). In 1960 Ford excavated deep tomb burials at the Helena Crossing site on the Mississippi River, recording the first evidence of Hopewell occupation in the state (Ford 1963).

Nineteen fifty-eight was the first year of McGimsey's research in the state, with a survey and summer field school testing in the Greer's Ferry lake area and testing again the following summer. McGimsey continued the field school,

combining it with the “salvage” work in proposed reservoirs for several years. Four seasons of survey and testing were spent in the area of Beaver Reservoir in northwest Arkansas (Thomas and Davis 1966; Wood 1962), from which two M.A. theses were also produced (Scholtz 1965; Thomas 1969). Michael P. Hoffman was hired in 1964, specifically to carry out some of the reservoir work, and his dissertation is on the research conducted in and around Millwood Lake in southwest Arkansas (Hoffman 1971). Hoffman also surveyed and directed testing in Ozark Reservoir and along the McClelland-Kerr Navigation System, all on the Arkansas River. Surveys were conducted in all the other small reservoirs either by the University Museum or the National Park Service itself (Figure 7.3).

Meanwhile, the Arkansas Archeological Society was revived in 1960, and in 1964 the University Museum sponsored the first training program for amateur archaeologists, providing an opportunity to test sites that were not necessarily about to be destroyed but that would help fill gaps in areal and chronological knowledge. This program is still going strong, with an average of one hundred participants over a two-and-one-half-week period in June.

In 1967, thanks to the support of the Society and of the Arkansas General Assembly, the Arkansas Archeological Survey was created, the first statewide state-supported coordinated archaeological program in the country. From the thirty-two years since its creation to mid-1999, the Survey staff has organized all the archaeological records in the state and currently has a data base of more than thirty-four thousand sites, more than forty-two hundred projects, and thirty-eight hundred citations on Arkansas archaeology. Survey Research Stations, which numbered seven initially, now number ten, with the establishment on July 1, 1999, of a new station at Blytheville in extreme northeast Arkansas. There are still stations at seven universities, and we are particularly proud that the Parkin and Toltec sites are now protected as state parks, with a Survey archaeologist assigned to each for research and interpretation. A recent directory of archaeologists working in Arkansas lists eighty-three individuals, many of them working for the state Highway Department, for the U.S. Forest Service, or for private companies.

We now know something more than what Mississippian and Caddoan graves contain. Research in the past forty years has expanded our knowledge both backward and forward, from discovering that Dalton people buried their dead in cemeteries (Morse 1997), to recording an amazing number of rock art sites (Fritz and Ray 1982), to revealing that late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century farmsteads yield important information on economic and subsistence strategies not found in the archives (Coleman 1999; Stewart-Abernathy 1986).

McGimsey retired as Survey Director in 1990, and in 1992 Thomas J. Green



Figure 7.3. Reservoir surveys and testing in Arkansas. (Modified from 1960 *Newsletter of the Arkansas Archeological Society* 1[3]:5)

was appointed the Survey's second director. I retired in 1999, and Ann M. Early was appointed the state's second State Archeologist. The Survey moved into a new building at the beginning of 1999, built expressly to provide state-of-the-art curation facilities for both the Survey's and the University Museum's collections. The 1991 Unmarked Burial Law was amended in 1999 to make disturbance of an unmarked grave a felony, although professional archaeologists may uncover a disturbed grave with the consent of the appropriate Native American tribe and approval of the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program.

Pot hunting and its consequences will probably always be with us, salvage

pops up in situations when we can call in our trained amateurs for help, and the science of archaeology in Arkansas is poised for even greater things in the new century.

Meanwhile, there were other things going on in Arkansas that had more far-reaching effects on archaeology than the straightforward history might imply.

It may seem immodest to proclaim Fayetteville, Arkansas, as the birthplace of public archaeology—a term now used at will to mean many things to many people. I believe I can safely say, however, that the term was first used by Bob McGimsey when he was preparing his book by that name (McGimsey 1972). The concept began its life as a philosophical statement to the effect that the past belongs to everyone (McGimsey 1972:5–19) and that (at the time) almost all archaeologists were being paid by public monies and therefore were public servants. In Arkansas, McGimsey and I developed the certification program for amateurs with this philosophy as background, teaching the members of the Arkansas Archeological Society the basics of archaeological techniques and the rudiments of archaeological ethics. In 1964, when the program started, there were four archaeologists in the state, all at the university, and there were about four hundred Society members—how better to be sure that more sites were recorded and more sites saved.

It was this core of interested participants in the training program who were the leadership in getting the Society aroused to support the creation of the Arkansas Archeological Survey, which benefited the Society by having professional archaeologists scattered around the state. What a great back-scratching arrangement it has turned out to be.

Perhaps even more far-reaching was a fateful trip to Little Rock that McGimsey and I took in early 1968. In those long four hours we hatched a way to spend what looked like some extra money we would have at the end of the fiscal year. Would it not be great, we thought, to get Phillips, Ford, and Griffin back to the Mississippi Valley to evaluate what was happening to the archaeological sites and advise us and archaeologists in the other concerned states about research priorities. Carl Chapman in Missouri had already been communicating with us about the land leveling going on in southeast Missouri, and we knew the same thing was happening in our portion of the valley. As it turned out, Griffin was the only one who took our bait. We organized four regional meetings, in Greenville, Mississippi, in Jonesboro, Arkansas, in Poplar Bluff, Missouri, and in Edwardsville, Illinois, with Griffin as moderator and all area archaeologists attending. The result was twofold. First, a document was produced, called the *Mississippi Alluvial Valley Archeological Program*, which summarized the status of knowledge in the various states and, more important, indicated the gaps in information and suggested priorities for research. This was,

in effect, one of the first regional research plans to be used as a guideline by many archaeologists.

The second result was the realization that there was a *real* crisis in the number of sites being destroyed by land leveling and other agricultural practices, largely sponsored by the Soil Conservation Service—a federal program leading to massive site destruction. John Corbett, the Interior Department’s Consulting Archaeologist at the time, met with us in Edwardsville so that we could give him chapter and verse on the situation. Indeed, he said, there was no federal money to help salvage information from those sites as there was for destruction of sites by inundation under Corps of Engineers’ reservoirs. What to do, what to do? *Change the law!*

That was 1968. In 1974, under the sponsorship of Senator Moss of Utah and Representative Bennett of Florida, the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act was passed and signed into law by President Nixon. In those intervening six years, while I roused the archaeological constituency to a fever pitch of letter writing and buttonholing as the chair of the Society for American Archaeology’s Committee on Public Archeology, McGimsey and Chapman learned the art of lobbying and spent much of their time in the halls of Congress. I was able to get two articles published in influential journals telling both the scientific community and the interested archaeological public of the crisis in site destruction and what archaeologists were trying to do about it (Davis 1971, 1972). McGimsey and I also organized a two-day conference in May 1972, which was, I believe, the first meeting of key archaeologists from around the country and representatives of most of the federal agencies whose programs and projects affected archaeological resources. Most of these people had no idea where Fayetteville was, much less that you could get there by plane—and most heard the term “cultural resource management” for the first time. (It is *not* true that the term was coined so that the acronym would be the same as McGimsey’s initials.) At a similar conference in Denver in 1973, the American Society for Conservation Archeology was formed (in the hotel bar after the papers). In 1974 McGimsey organized the Airlie House Conferences, and he and I edited the results of those six seminars (McGimsey and Davis 1977). That led to the formation, at a meeting held in Fayetteville, of the Society of Professional Archeologists.

Those were heady times. In Arkansas we had created a model state-funded archaeological program, and in the nation we had awakened archaeologists to the fact that they needed to *pay attention* to what was happening outside their labs and excavation projects. That I had the privilege of serving as State Archeologist in Arkansas for thirty-two years and that I had a tendency to keep raising my hand and voice to volunteer to serve on national and even international committees is now a part of history also (White 1999).

8 Louisiana Archaeology

A Selective History

Robert W. Neuman

For the purpose of this contribution I am going to exclude many of the important events and individuals who contributed to the history of Louisiana archaeology during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Those efforts have been published in considerable detail in an annotated bibliography of Louisiana Indians (Neuman and Simmons 1969), in publications on Louisiana archaeology (Haag 1971; Lyon 1996; Neuman 1984), and more recently in a scholarly publication entitled *Archeology and Bioarcheology of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Trans-Mississippi South in Arkansas and Louisiana* (Jeter et al. 1989). Most of what I will have to say will address post-1940 events.

Before continuing, however, I want to pay a very considered tribute to one who, in my mind, influenced the development of scientific archaeology in Louisiana more than anyone else. That is, of course, James A. Ford (1911–1968). I met him only briefly three times, once at Louisiana State University and again at two Southeastern Archaeological Conference meetings in the early 1950s. I think I have read and reread most everything he published. In 1983, I scrutinized his papers deposited in the Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution, which included a preliminary draft of his excavations at the Marks-ville site in Avoyelles Parish. Through his tireless fieldwork, his research, *and* his dominance of character, James Ford, more than any of his colleagues, left an indelible stamp on Louisiana archaeology. One simply cannot conduct research into the archaeology of Louisiana Indians without converging upon his name and contributions. Ford's general contributions have recently been discussed by O'Brien and Lyman (1999c).

Now, having said that, I will make one exception, that being in the person of Clarence H. Webb (1903–1991), the physician, amateur archaeologist, and colleague of James Ford. When archaeological activities were at a low tide in

Louisiana, Webb was excavating sites, analyzing and curating the materials, and publishing the data in professional journals. His unflagging efforts continued for almost sixty years. I will have more to say about Dr. Webb as I go along.

Louisiana Academics

If we go now to activities in the academic sector of Louisiana archaeology in the 1940s, I would say that Louisiana slumbered. Yes, there were publications authored and coauthored by Ford and Webb and even a brief note in *American Antiquity* by Robert Wauchope of Tulane University (Wauchope 1947). Also, it may be noted that anthropology came into being and was coupled with an already established Department of Geography at LSU in 1935. In terms of the academic sector in the 1950s, Louisiana slumbered. LSU did hire William G. Haag (1910–2000), a professionally trained Ph.D. archaeologist—a first for any state institution in Louisiana—and several students graduated with master's degrees in anthropology, including French in 1952 and myself in 1956. Tulane University and its sister school, Sophie Newcomb, each had one archaeologist who taught in the Sociology Department. Ironically, each began his career in archaeology, Robert Wauchope with the WPA in Georgia and the other, Arden King, with the WPA in Louisiana. Their attentions at Tulane and Sophie Newcomb, however, were addressed toward Meso-American archaeology and cultural anthropology. Other activities around the state during the 1950s included the Ford and Webb excavations at Poverty Point and the opening of the park and Louisiana Indian museum at Marksville by the Office of State Parks. Actually, the Marksville museum was the second museum to be established. The first, consisting of dioramas and display cases on Louisiana archaeology, was begun at LSU in the 1930s with WPA assistance.

Continuing along in the realm of academic activities in archaeology, during most of the 1960s Louisiana slumbered. LSU did assist James Ford in excavating mounds at the Monte Sano site in East Baton Rouge Parish, where they exposed some most interesting structural remains. As it happened, however, radiocarbon assays received from the site were adjudged to be outlandishly early. Nothing more was heard of Monte Sano for three long decades. The same situation pertained to the Banana Bayou Mound on Avery Island and its early C-14 dates (Gagliano 1964). As a matter of fact the archaeological mind-set of the era could hardly comprehend the early dates for the extensive earthworks at Poverty Point, so the dates from Monte Sano and Avery Island Mounds, some two thousand years earlier, were beyond serious consideration (Gibson 1994; Saunders 1994).

In any event, in the late 1960s there were some stirrings among the academia. LSU established the position of Curator of Anthropology in the Department

of Geography and Anthropology, and I was hired to fill the position. Early on I became involved with excavations at a shell mound in coastal Louisiana and with highway salvage projects surveying the planned interstate paths and excavating an endangered mound in north Louisiana. Also in the early 1960s two other state universities hired archaeologists. One was Richard J. Shenkel for the Department of Anthropology and Geography at the University of New Orleans, and the other was Hiram F. Gregory in the Department of Social Sciences at Northwestern State University in Natchitoches. In 1969 the University of Louisiana at Lafayette hired Jon L. Gibson in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. During the 1960s Tulane University became the first academic institution in the state to offer a Ph.D. in anthropology, but it was not yet very actively involved with Louisiana archaeology. At LSU the Department of Geography and Anthropology offered a Ph.D. in geography, but only a master's degree in anthropology. That situation persists today. Various reasons have been proffered as to why LSU, the flagship university in Louisiana, has not instituted a Ph.D. program in anthropology, and many of those reasons are contradictory. In any event, perhaps the new millennium will see a change in that predicament.

Continuing on to the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the archaeological arena in Louisiana academics became quite energized. A goodly number of master's theses compiled at LSU related to an array of aspects of Louisiana archaeology, that is, prehistoric and historic Indian sites (Conn 1978; Guevin 1983; Weinstein 1974; Woodiel 1980), typological assessments of prehistoric pottery (Rivet 1973), physical anthropology of prehistoric human interments (Manhein 1985), and paleobotanical and zooarchaeological studies of prehistoric site remains (Byrd 1974; Futch 1979), just to name a few. Tulane University graduated at least three Ph.D.s (Giardino 1985; Kelley 1990; Yakubik 1990), whose studies and present careers relate to Louisiana archaeology. A limited number of master's theses (Giardino 1977) were completed in the same realm. As a matter of fact, during the 1990s, Tulane has become most active in site excavations and reports of the results in professional journals (Kidder 1990, 1992).

Speaking of the state universities, they, too, have been hard at work. All became, to one degree or another, involved with CRM projects; two, the University of New Orleans and the University of Louisiana at Lafayette, even sponsored CRM units within their departments. Five of the state universities hosted field schools at one time or the other, but, much to their credit, Northwestern State University and the University of Louisiana at Lafayette constantly had and continue to have field schools. Parenthetically, it may be remarked at this point that presently there are more archaeologists at Northwestern State University than at any other university in Louisiana. Northwestern State University cosponsors a regional archaeologist and a station archaeologist with the

state Division of Archaeology; it has a zooarchaeologist, an underwater archaeologist, and a historic archaeologist. Furthermore, I might add, Hiram F. Gregory, at Northwestern State University, is the only professional anthropologist in the state who has sustained a close and cooperative working relationship with Louisiana Indian tribes in and outside of the state. That relationship has endured for more than three decades.

In regard to university activities I want to cite also the activities of academic institutions outside of Louisiana that have contributed no little to Louisiana archaeology since the 1940s. First there is Southern Methodist University, which conducted reservoir salvage in Louisiana at sites in the Toledo Bend area of Texas and Louisiana (McClurkan et al. 1966; Scurlock 1964; Woodall 1969). Then there is Harvard University, which surveyed and tested sites in the Tensas Basin region starting in the 1960s (Williams 1967). In the 1970s and 1980s Harvard University worked at Tunica Indian sites and produced a most scholarly report on the excavations (Brain 1988). Following those activities Harvard University conducted excavations in coastal Louisiana and reported the results in professional journals (I. Brown 1981, 1997). Yale University also conducted surveys and excavations in Louisiana in the 1970s (Springer 1973). Last, University of Michigan graduate students came down to Louisiana and excavated a non-mound, Poverty Point site that yielded excellent biotic remains. The investigation resulted in a dissertation that, for the first time, provided a substantial quantity of data relative to Poverty Point subsistence (Jackson 1986).

Louisiana State Archaeological Program

In 1974 an event occurred that was to have a most profound effect on the antiquities of Louisiana. The state legislature enacted a law that created what is defined today as the Division of Archaeology, directed by the State Archaeologist within the Office of Cultural Development. The first Louisiana State Archaeologist was William G. Haag, followed by Edwin Alan Toth, Kathleen M. Byrd, and Thomas H. Eubanks. In order to alert citizens of Louisiana, who have exhibited an ever-growing interest in the state antiquities, the Division early on began publication of the *Louisiana Anthropological Studies Series*, booklets dealing with knowledge gained from archaeological investigations at prehistoric and historic Indian sites, underwater salvage of an eighteenth-century Spanish shipwreck along coastal Louisiana, and a Civil War site in the Red River. Between 1977 and the present, 177,000 copies of the booklets in the series have been distributed. The Division pressed on with its publication efforts and began another series titled *Anthropological Reports*, of which one volume has been published. Also notable is the *Classroom Archaeology Guide* (Hawkins 1984), one of the first such guides published in the United States and nomi-

nated for the National Trust Award. Five thousand of these have been distributed. Other outreach activities include six suitcase traveling exhibits relative to Poverty Point and the Spanish *El Nuevo Constante* shipwreck adapted to classrooms, museums, and libraries. Also relative to Poverty Point and *El Nuevo Constante* are four slide and tape exhibits for public distribution. Coupled with the above activities are the Division's Prehistory Poster Series, of which four thousand pieces have been distributed to educators, and, most recently, a handsomely colored and illustrated brochure series dealing with preservation and conservation of Louisiana's more than seven hundred Indian mounds.

The success with the above public outreach efforts led to a program of statewide activities designated Louisiana Archaeology Week. During this annual event professional and amateur archaeologists from the Division, universities, CRM firms, federal agencies, and the Louisiana Archaeological Society present lectures, host exhibits, demonstrate archaeological techniques and methodologies, and provide site tours. The event is aided by funding and other support from various local, state, and federal agencies and private foundations. In 1999 the twelfth annual Archaeology Week celebration included seventy-nine events in forty parishes and fifty-nine different communities in which forty-four archaeologists or scholars in related fields were involved. More than sixty-five hundred people attended these functions.

Still another carefully planned and pragmatic activity, drawn up by the Division in 1989, is the Regional Archaeology Program. In this program Division archaeologists collaborate with and are stationed at universities in the four geographical quadrants of Louisiana. The program has been immensely successful in coordinating archaeological activities and in disseminating new data throughout Louisiana and outside of the state. The annual reports of the regional archaeologists are exemplary sources of past and current data. They are detailed and demonstrate a keen awareness of the regional archaeological resources. The data have been presented at regional and national conferences and published in professional journals. Take, for example, the interdisciplinary investigations surrounding the excavations at the Watson Brake site (Figure 8.1) (Saunders et al. 1994) and other contemporary sites, which, at least presently, are the oldest earthen constructions known in the Western Hemisphere. Look also at the recent report of work at the Conly site, a Meso-Indian occupation in Bienville Parish yielding large quantities of stone and at least three human interments. The site has a calibrated C-14 date of 7500 years B.P. These interments are by far the earliest known in Louisiana and certainly some of the earliest reported in the region. Then, too, after sixty years of listlessness, there is a most comprehensive report on recent excavations at the oft-mentioned and misconstrued Marksville site. Clearly relating all aspects of recent excavations and artifactual analysis that includes flora and fauna identifications, the report

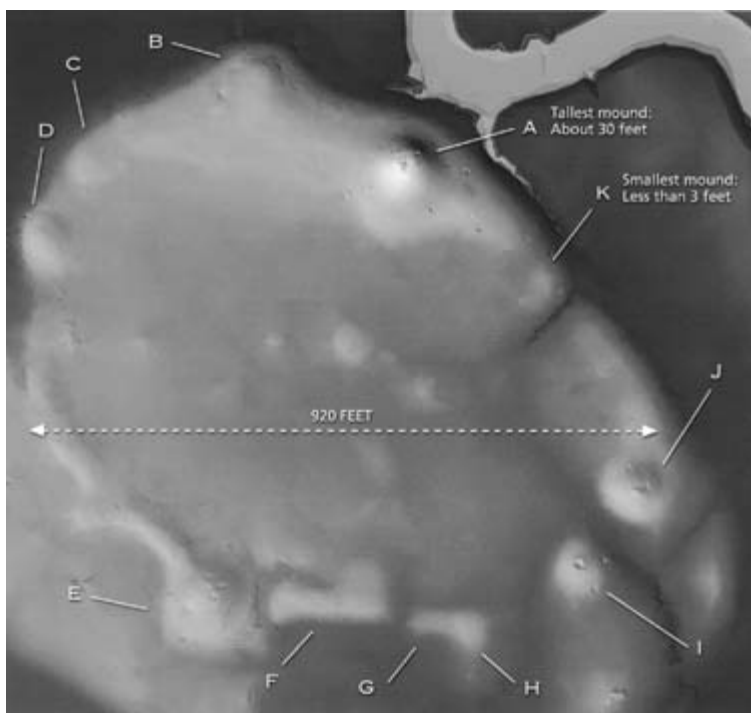


Figure 8.1. Computerized image view of the Watson Brake site (16OU175), Ouachita Parish, Louisiana. View northerly. (Courtesy of the Louisiana Division of Archaeology)

is finally able to provide, for the first time, a roster of calibrated C-14 dates from the type site itself. Happily for those of us who have dealt with the Marksville culture, the radiocarbon dates are not befuddling. In yet another regional report the reader will find historic archaeological data on two Civil War sites, one a Union fort and the other a Union earthen stockade. This report also addresses a cooperative project with a CRM firm to compile a detailed map of important historical sites in present-day Baton Rouge. It will be used as a planning tool for future development and for a walking tour program.

Another program instituted by the Division of Archaeology was the Station Archaeology Program. This program is a partnership between the Office of State Parks and the Division. The purpose is to provide an archaeologist at two archaeological sites managed by State Parks, namely, Los Adaes and Poverty Point. The primary responsibility of these archaeologists is to conduct research at these two important National Historic Landmarks. A measure of the strength of their success lies in the high quality and comprehensiveness of their

recent annual reports, which encompass all archaeological matters involving Los Adaes and Poverty Point during the last three decades.

This capsulates the primary activities of the Division of Archaeology, and it may be stated without doubt that the Division has handled its responsibilities with monumental success and popularity.

Cultural Resource Management

Cultural Resource Management in Louisiana, and elsewhere, began to see the light of day after a small group of tireless archaeologists and amateurs alerted legislatures and their public constituents of the inexorable destruction of archaeological and historic sites in the United States. It took more than three decades of sustained toil, but beginning in 1960 and continuing into the present decade, legislation was enacted and amended that not only called for the preservation of cultural resources but also mandated their protection and management. These laws are directed to resources on public land and beneath federal waters, and they relate to state and private properties if federal funds are to be used, for example, highway construction, airport development, housing projects, industrial expansion, agricultural land leveling, and, of all things, dams for cattle ponds, just to name a few.

Well, if one considers only the major waterways and wetlands managed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the National Forest properties, to say nothing about assistance offered to private agricultural holdings from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Louisiana has an impressive share of property that clamors for cultural resource management. By the mid-1960s, federal land managers, private companies, and landowners were looking for archaeologists to undertake property assessments of cultural resources and to broach the world of cultural impact statements. It was soon apparent that university archaeologists in Louisiana were few in number, seven to eight by my count, at five universities. Furthermore, most of the archaeologists had a full workload of teaching, researching, and so on, which did not fit at all conveniently with time schedules of cultural resource management projects. Even more perplexing was the fact that all parties concerned were unfamiliar with the guidelines and rules for undertaking cultural resource studies, and, sure as God made little green apples, the quality of those earlier reports left something to be desired. For example, I can recall reports typewritten on one side of one page of official stationery that simply stated that a record research was done, the specified property was surface surveyed, and nothing of archaeological significance was noted. Pay for the survey amounted to enough to cover room, board, and mileage. Shortly thereafter, the impact statements required a brief overview summary of the regional archaeology. If the overview was typed single-spaced, it burdened Louisiana archaeologists with one or two more sheets of

the official stationery. Happily, the *modus operandi* changed and became more attentive to the spirit of the law. Nevertheless, as late as the early 1970s contractual errors were committed that cost the federal coffers dearly. In one instance, a federal agency contracted with a Louisiana archaeologist to undertake a record review and field survey of a major river basin in the state. The agency funded the archaeologist, a field crew of four, and the purchase of a field vehicle. The study took about two years; a comprehensive report was completed and accepted by the agency. As it happened, however, Louisiana had just established the Office of the State Archaeologist, and when the report was submitted for its approval, such approval was, to the chagrin and surprise of the archaeologist and the contracting agency, denied. Why was the approval denied? It was because the contract called for a study on the location of archaeological Indian sites in the study area and omitted any reference to historic non-Indian sites. In any event another survey, with all the associated expenses, was called for, completed, and accepted. This report correctly addressed the subject of historic structures in the study area.

Like anything else, with the magnitude of CRM there are contractual problems that require mutual adjustments, but CRM investigations still remain a prominent, umbilical facet in archaeological documentation in Louisiana, and these studies have benefited the state in more ways than saving and preserving archaeological remains. These CRM firms have been the mainstays of employment and ongoing job training for numerous students and graduates whose studies are in archaeology and related fields. Many of the students with master's degrees and several with Ph.D.s from Louisiana universities are employed by local CRM firms. In fact, one of those Ph.D.s manages her own CRM firm in the state.

Of the larger CRM firms, it may be said that they have some of the most proficiently organized, equipped, and curated laboratories in Louisiana. Furthermore, it should be remarked that the larger firms have on their staffs professionals in related fields of geoscience and history, which constantly aid in conducting interdisciplinary archaeological investigations.

I would now like to end this overview of CRM archaeology with some impressive numerical data from Louisiana. Since the beginning of the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Office in the 1970s, there have been no less than 2,250 CRM reports reviewed by this office's staff. During fiscal year 1999, a total of sixty CRM reports written by sixteen different firms were reviewed. During fiscal year 1997, 47,792 acres were surveyed as a result of the federal compliance process, and 264 new archaeological sites were recorded. Presently, a total of 14,622 archaeological sites are recorded in the state files, and most of these have been recorded by CRM firms as a result of the federal process. There can be no doubt that the cultural resource firms are playing a most positive and beneficial role in Louisiana archaeology.

Federal Agency Programs

Hand in hand with the CRM firms are branches of federal agencies that have established environmental offices assigned to protect archaeological remains on properties within their domain of management. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in New Orleans instituted such an office in 1974. It presently includes five archaeologists on its staff who have coordinated 350 contracts or surveys and excavations with CRM firms and state universities at locations offshore, under inland waters, and on land. Another federal agency active in managing archaeological remains is the Department of Agriculture's U.S. Forest Service, whose main office is in Pineville, Louisiana. This office was instituted in 1977, and at that time it employed one archaeologist, whose duties covered five states. Today that office employs five archaeologists, all of whom work only in Louisiana. Unlike most other federal agencies, the U.S. Forest Service office in Louisiana handles most of its archaeological matters, that is, surveys, tests, excavations, protection, and preservation in-house, rarely contracting with outside firms.

At Fort Polk, Louisiana, the U.S. Army established the Environmental and Natural Resources and Management Division in 1978, which includes two archaeologists on its staff. Most of the archaeological investigations conducted on Fort Polk properties have been done under contract with CRM firms. Since 1978 more than 2000 sites have been documented, and 450 of these have received test excavations. Furthermore, the Fort Polk office has established a first-class archaeological laboratory, a climatized storage area, and a museum display exhibiting materials and photographs covering paleontology, archaeology, and the historic-era lumber industry that so characterized the region. Two of the archaeological dioramas in the exhibit are as good or better than comparable exhibits anywhere else in Louisiana. For a recent summary of archaeology at Fort Polk, see Anderson et al. (1999).

Not since the Great Depression of the 1930s have federal agencies been so closely involved with archaeological resources. Unlike the 1930s, however, when the emphasis was on employing large numbers of out-of-work people, the goal today is on the protection of the archaeological resources. Each of these federal agencies has demonstrated a serious intent to preserve and protect the cultural resources under their management.

Louisiana Archaeological Society

There is not a state in the union that has not benefited from the formation of a local archaeological society comprising individuals who are willing and eager to volunteer their time and talents to learn about and conserve the archaeological remains of their region. Moreover, as if their efforts in the

field are not enough, what state has not called on the membership when time came for political push and shove in seeking legislation to protect cultural resources? It has been acknowledged correctly that many private individuals were immensely important in aiding archaeological endeavors in Louisiana as professional archaeologists began combing the landscape looking for sites and pawing through private artifact collections stowed in the dogtrot houses and double-log pen barns. A milieu of mutual interest and satisfaction developed, which led to the establishment of the Louisiana Archaeological Society in 1974. Since its founding the Society has inaugurated and published a bulletin series of twenty-two volumes (Gibson 1984). The series became a peer review bulletin in 1984, and it continues so today. Coinciding with the bulletin is a quarterly newsletter. It offers information about activities of the Society chapters, its board of directors, Society meetings, and archaeological field activities and provides short reports on an array of archaeological subjects past and current. The Society membership, generally consisting of about three hundred people, has sponsored several two-week field schools and hosts an annual meeting where members, both professional and amateur, present papers on or pertinent to Louisiana archaeology, attend a banquet with guest speakers, and party late into the night with a dance band and libations. Perhaps more important, I can remark without a flitter of doubt that since 1974 very few, if any, archaeological field projects in Louisiana have been undertaken without the substantial volunteer assistance of Society members as part of the team. If there is any uncertainty on this matter, one should simply scan the acknowledgments in the published reports. Several Society members have gone a step further. They requested archaeological excavations to be conducted at sites on their own private properties and then implemented the investigation by providing housing, food, and large-equipment operators. Consider also the member employed by a large international corporation who succeeded in having the corporation contribute annually a large sum of money to the Society.

If those examples are not meritorious enough, bear in mind the fact that three of the Society members, none professional archaeologists, have received national awards from the Society for American Archaeology. Clarence H. Webb received the first ever Crabtree Award, and Recca Jones was presented with the same award in 1998. The Fryxell Award was given to Roger T. Saucier (1935–1999) just a few years ago. I feel sure that the Society has and will continue to be a distinguished boon to Louisiana archaeology.

Conclusion

These have been summaries of the highlights of Louisiana archaeology since the 1940s. Louisiana is no longer slumbering. What with water screening and flotation techniques, paleobotanical and zooarchaeological studies, physi-

cal anthropological studies, soil genesis techniques, chemical analyses, infrared microscopic photography and computers, global position system, ground penetrating radar, cesium magnetometers, and electromagnetic conductivity profilers, who is to say what knowledge will be gained in the next millennium? Just keep in mind that nothing is perfect and that there is always a better way to do something.

Notes

In undertaking this study, I was fortunate to have the aid and counsel of a number of people. I extend to each of them my sincere appreciation: Kenneth Ashworth, George Avery, Kathleen Byrd, Alan Dorian, Marco Giardino, Jon Gibson, Jeff Girard, James Grafton, Nancy Hawkins, Nathaniel Heller, Wendy Lott, Chip McGimsey, David Morgan, Philip Rivet, Joe Saunders, and Richard Weinstein.

9 Rediscovering Illinois

The Development of Archaeology in Illinois

Jon Muller

Roots

The roots of Illinois archaeology go back to the early French explorers and their notice of the Piasa pictograph at Alton as well as their rough awareness of other aboriginal remains. Of course, such notice was hardly archaeological in any strict sense. The real archaeology of the state began with settlement in the state by Anglo-Americans after the War of Independence. Travelers such as Henry Brackenridge noted “a stupendous pile of earth” in the St. Louis area (e.g., Brackenridge 1814; see also Fowler 1997; Milner 1998). At the same time, Zadok Cramer, author of the primary navigation guide to the new steamboats (1966 [1814]), gave a detailed account of the Great Salt Spring near Shawneetown, Illinois (Muller et al. 1992). Cramer’s interest in archaeology was linked to his own publishing business, and he and his partners published not only their own guides but also Brackenridge’s account.

In the years before the Civil War, most archaeology in Illinois was along the lines of the new settlers who were spending boyhood afternoons in the pleasant avocation of looting stone box graves (e.g., Brush 1944:33–34): “Sometimes we ascended the highest points of the Bluffs, clear of aught but grass, and opened old burial places on the loftiest tops, made by excavating the earth to a depth of two or three feet, as it appeared to us, then putting flat stones at bottom, sides and ends and after depositing the bodies covering them with similar stones. Usually the top stones were bare of earth or nearly so. Within, some bones and teeth were found, the teeth well preserved, the bones far gone in decay.”

Although we have few details of the work that was actually carried out, there were some scientific investigations in the state during the years before the Civil

War. In addition to the descriptive accounts of sites by Cramer, the utopian community in southern Indiana at New Harmony had brought a number of persons such as Thomas Say and Robert Evans to the area who were, or were to be, eminent in the development of the natural sciences in the new republic. The most active in antiquarian researches, however, was the French naturalist and scientific illustrator Charles Alexander Lesueur (see Hamy 1968). Although his actual excavations took place mostly just on the borders of Illinois rather than in what later became the state itself, Lesueur's work is illustrative of the combined geologically oriented, natural science-oriented approach of the times. After the admission of Illinois to the Union in 1818, a number of persons developed interests in the broad area of natural history, which almost inevitably included what might be called "Indian rocks." In the context of personal "cabinets of curiosities," individuals developed increasingly sophisticated collections of what would today be separate areas of research.

Of course, broad-scale political issues much more central to the nation and to science were at the forefront by the late 1850s. The foci of archaeological development in Illinois after the Civil War were the archaeological remains along the Mississippi (mostly south of St. Louis) and the Ohio River Valleys.

The highlights of Illinois archaeological developments in the nineteenth century are important in several regards. In the first place, some of the persons who were involved became prominent on the national scene during the last quarter of the century and had strong influence on the directions taken by American archaeology during that period. In the second place, the archaeological data from sites such as Cahokia played an important part in shaping a professional view of the nature of Eastern prehistory.

One of the least known of those active in promoting archaeological research is Wills De Hass (1869), a physician and amateur scientist, whose earlier interest in colonial history (e.g., De Hass 1851) apparently become transformed on coming to St. Louis into an interest in seeing the "Mound Builder" problem resolved. The American Association for the Advancement of Science strongly lobbied for a mound exploration program. It seemed fitting, then, that he was named the first director of the Division of Mound Exploration at the Smithsonian after John Wesley Powell was "forced" to found it (see Muller 1996). After a short time, however, Powell dismissed De Hass under mysterious circumstances (the relevant documents were deleted from the incoming mail and the copies of outgoing letters razored out of the letterbooks, National Anthropological Archives). De Hass's work is preserved in manuscript in the National Anthropological Archives (De Hass [1850s–1880s]) and was at least used as a source by Cyrus Thomas in the preparation of his Bureau of Ethnology reports on mound exploration (e.g., Thomas 1894).

Cyrus Thomas of Carbondale, Illinois, was appointed to succeed De Hass.

Thomas's career spans the prewar and postwar periods in Illinois. He also, of course, played an important part in the promotion of archaeology at the Smithsonian after the middle 1880s until his death in 1910. A native of east Tennessee, he was a largely untutored student of law. He came west to Illinois, where he settled in Murphysboro, Illinois, practiced law, and clerked. He was resident at the Logan House hotel, operated by the most prominent Democratic family in the region. He married the daughter of the family, and his brother-in-law was the famous John A. Logan, who shifted from being a very pro-Southern Democrat to a Radical Republican over the years of the war. His widow commented on the hostility of the family to these changes (Jones 1995:154), but I have been unable to discover Thomas's own views on abolition and civil rights issues. He was, as noted, from east Tennessee, a strongly pro-Union and even anti-slavery portion of the South. His associations at the Bureau of American Ethnology, and his later writings, belie his characterization by Bruce Trigger as "undervaluing" Native American accomplishments (1989:126), certainly by the standards of his own time. His collaboration with W. J. McGee even after the latter's dismissal on grounds that were at least partly because of his being seen as "soft" on savages is consistent with his being fairly progressive for his times. In any case, his strong support of Powell's position on the Indian origin of the prehistoric works of the East was certainly not a racist position in its opposition to the "Mound Builder" myth.

John Wesley Powell was another Illinois natural historian whose interests included archaeology. Before the Civil War, Powell had been an officer of the Illinois Natural History Society at a time when Cyrus Thomas was the more dominant member of that organization. After the war, the positions became reversed, and Powell came to play a larger role on the national stage (Aton 1994; Darrah 1951). Powell certainly played a role in the firing of De Hass and the appointment of his associate, Thomas.

Others were active in the pursuit of Illinois prehistory in the years between the Civil War and World War I. A number of local historians noted archaeological remains in their localities (e.g., Page 1900). The most significant contributions were those made by semiprofessional archaeologists such as William McAdams. As a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, he had joined in exerting pressure to explore the mounds (e.g., McAdams 1881) and had also published a brief account that included many references to Illinois archaeology (1887). Subsequently, McAdams served as the chief Illinois Commissioner for Archaeological Exhibits at the World Columbian Exposition of 1893 where a major exhibit of archaeological specimens was displayed within the Illinois state building. McAdams's report (1895) on the Illinois archaeology exhibits at the world's fair shows many of the items displayed, some still well known today.

Much Illinois material was also featured in the main anthropological and archaeological exhibits for the anthropology building (set up by Frederick Ward Putnam's hire, Franz Boas) (views in Conkey 1893(?):94). After the completion of the fair, many of the specimens exhibited were incorporated into the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History. Photographs taken after the turn of the century show exhibit spaces very similar to those used in the earlier world's fair exhibits (Field Museum 1908). George Escol Sellers (parodied by Mark Twain in *The Gilded Age*) undertook surprisingly sophisticated explorations of the Great Salt Spring, near Shawneetown, Illinois (1877).

Warren K. Moorehead also came to Illinois in the new century for work at various sites, including the Cahokia site (Moorehead 1906, 1912, 1921, 1922a, 1922b, 1923, 1929). Moorehead's work at Cahokia became important in the early scientific excavation of the site (e.g., Fowler 1997). Just as important, Moorehead helped see to the preservation of at least the core of the site in a state park around 1924.

William Nickerson's work in the upper Mississippi in Illinois in the 1890s had considerable impact on activities in Illinois during this period (Nickerson 1908a, 1908b, 1912; see below). Nickerson was one of a number of talented and careful—for their time—archaeological pioneers who worked in Illinois after national public interest had largely shifted to the west and to Mesoamerica. In addition, there were more, or less, enlightened archaeological efforts in the mounds of the Illinois Valley. One of the foremost of these amateurs was John F. Snyder, whose numerous works run from the post-Civil War period up to the early part of the twentieth century (1877, 1882, 1883a, 1883b, 1893a, 1893b, 1894a, 1894b, 1895, 1898, 1900, 1908, 1909a, 1909b, 1909c, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1917, 1962a, 1962b, 1962c). George Langford also worked at this time in the Chicago area in Illinois and published in a number of prestigious journals on Illinois archaeology in the years between the world wars (1919, 1926, 1927a, 1927b, 1927c, 1928, 1929). The excavations in the Illinois Valley by the Dickson family at their eponymous site also played an important role, not least in attracting the attention of Fay-Cooper Cole to the area for the University of Chicago field school (Dickson 1947, 1956, 1969, n.d.).

Early Chicago Days

The early work of the famous field school in archaeology of the University of Chicago was carried out in the Jo Daviess County area of extreme northwest Illinois in 1926–1927 and 1932 (see Bennett 1945). After the project had begun, Paul Martin, Wilton Krogman, and Fay-Cooper Cole of the field project were given Nickerson's field notes by his widow and later had access to Nickerson's notes and records in the Peabody Museum at Harvard. In the

preface to John W. Bennett's later report on this work (Bennett 1945), Cole specifically praised Nickerson's careful field methods and record keeping. It is, however, going rather too far to claim (e.g., Browman 1999) that Nickerson's "careful" methods were the *origin* of the so-called Chicago method (see Cole and Deuel 1937:8, Chapter II; Cole et al. 1951:3, 32 for an indication how the largely vertical controls of Nickerson and other early pioneer archaeologists evolved into the largely horizontal controls of the developed "Chicago" method). None of the early Illinois archaeological projects from Thomas to Cole developed truly unique or novel methods, but the term "Chicago," as applied to a set of techniques is more than justified by the role that the University of Chicago field schools played in instructing nascent archaeologists in a suite of careful techniques. These students, in turn, carried these methods to their own future field programs. And train students, the University of Chicago did. A list of the participants in the various programs between 1926 and 1942 includes a majority of the most significant post-World War II archaeologists.

The Jo Daviess field program was but prelude to the more developed field programs carried out in the Illinois and then in the Lower Ohio Valleys. In both cases, as in the northwestern Illinois work, local amateurs played an important part in setting the stage for the more professional training program.

In the late 1920s, the opening to the public of the Dickson site, as well as others, had drawn the interest of Cole and his student associates to Fulton County. In 1930, 1931, and 1932, the Chicago field school excavated a number of sites there, with a particular view to understanding the culture-historical "climax" cultures of Hopewell and Mississippian. The methods of operation were to train the graduate students for a few weeks at a single site and then to put them out under supervision but in charge of locally hired laborers and with weekly field conferences on Sunday mornings (Cole and Deuel 1937:5-6). These were not just any graduate students, but future leaders of the profession.

The shift to the Lower Ohio Valley and the Black Bottom of the Ohio in 1934 was motivated, on Cole's part, by a desire to "fill in" the Midwestern Taxonomic System's classification of "Middle Mississippian" (Cole et al. 1951:v), probably because it was clear that the Fulton County Mississippian complexes were not exactly "climax" expressions of Mississippian relative to the larger southern sites. I have always been curious as to why Cole did not take his field school to Cahokia, clearly the genuinely "climax" expression of Mississippian. We do know that Cole was well acquainted with Fain King's excavations at Wickliffe, Kentucky (King 1939), and Fain King had directly contacted Cole with a view to Cole's coming to the Kincaid site (Cole et al. 1951:v).

In 1929, A. R. Kelly was hired as the first anthropologist at the University of Illinois, in the Department of Sociology. A physical anthropologist by training at Harvard, Kelly moved into archaeology in his new position and raised rather



Figure 9.1. Kincaid, 1936. Standing on porch, left to right: William Beatty, Charles Fairbanks, Carl H. Chapman, John Rinaldo, Angus English, G. Hubert Smith, Thorne Deuel, Taha Baquir, Joseph Caldwell; seated on steps, top to bottom: Luis Bronwell, C. Martin Wilbur, William Van Ness (left), Jack Havesch (right); standing on ground, left to right: Alexander Spoehr, Paul Maynard. (Identifications by Michael Wiant, courtesy of Illinois State Museum)

large amounts of money for the times (see Giles 1999). Kelly apparently incurred the enmity of a dean who became acting president of the University of Illinois and who fired Kelly in 1933 (Giles 1999). Kelly's subsequent and colorful history in the Works Progress Administration and Georgia archaeology is better known. Apparently, the problems in anthropology had an adverse effect on University of Illinois anthropology because little or no anthropology of any kind was offered at the university for some years (Giles 1999).

Chicago at the Transition

The work in the Illinois Valley was conceived and executed within the heyday of the culture-historical view of American archaeology. Fay-Cooper Cole and the Illinois Valley work not only was planned within the framework of filling in the taxonomic units of the Midwestern Taxonomic System but also was arguably the most important practical use of this approach in its early



Figure 9.2. Kincaid, 1940, on field trip to Angel Mounds. Left to right, standing: E. L. MacQuiddy, Robert Roberts, Robert Yampolsky, Phil Yampolsky, Norman Emerson, Frank Setzler, Glenn Black, John Bennett, Robert Armstrong; sitting: Earnest Young, Mrs. Young, Richard MacNeish, W. C. McKern, George Fathauer, Robert Ritzenthaler, Al Harris, John Murra, and Melvyn Baer. (Identifications by Michael Wiant, courtesy of Illinois State Museum)

days. Moreover, Cole's "American Historical" view meant that Chicago's graduate program had a strong four-field emphasis. In turn, this meant that a substantial number of students who were more interested in what was then still called "cultural anthropology" found themselves attending the archaeological field school. As Robert Redfield and Radcliffe-Brown moved students from "cultural" to "social," some of the Chicago students found the culture-historical problems of the field school to be old-fashioned at best or even irrelevant to what they now saw as the direction that anthropology should be taking. These feelings were especially prevalent after the move to the Kincaid site in far southern Illinois. John Bennett even attempted to define a new kind of archaeology more in tune with what many at Chicago saw as the essence of modern anthropology in his "Recent Developments in the Functional Interpretation of Archaeological Data" (1943). Bennett and other Young Turks at the field school saw functionalism as the wave (or, as might have been said in the 1980s, the *paradigm*) of the future. They took this position with some danger, given the ahistorical scorn of the real functionalists for "pseudohistory."

Even the “First Metropolis Expedition” of 1934 was marked by remarkably deductive approaches, albeit in a culture-historical context (e.g., Harrington and Jennings 1934, reproduced in Muller 1986:16–17). By the late prewar years, Bennett wasn’t the only one concerned with functionalism. Frank Setzler had directed the field work at Kincaid in 1940. His coauthored paper with Julian Steward in 1938, “Function and Configuration in Archaeology,” was another of the harbingers of a functionalist archaeology, so clearly more was cooking in the hot summer nights in the Black Bottom than just the mash in its numerous stills.

As in the Fulton County work, local labor was hired, and particularly in the later seasons, some WPA workers were employed to work alongside the Chicago participants. R. S. (Scotty) MacNeish supervised many of these local workers, which probably explains why he is the one person, out of a very large crowd of notably “forceful” personalities, who is still remembered by name in the Black Bottom. Indeed, once the locals identified a group of Southern Illinois University students in the 1970s as being archaeologists, their ubiquitous question was, “Did you ever hear of a guy by the name of ‘Scotty?’” Once, in the general store in Unionville (the locus of John Bennett’s dissertation work on the local social anthropology) after acknowledging that we had heard of Scotty, we were then asked, “Did he ever amount to anything?”

The darker side of a bunch of bright, cocky, and left-wing students from urban Chicago in the wilds of southern Illinois was expressed by another local resident: “They treated us like we was a bunch of savages.” For all that, many of the Chicago participants boarded with local families, and there is still a generally positive attitude in the locality about archaeologists.

Of course, functionalism was also a major component in the work of Walter W. Taylor, later to join the faculty at Southern Illinois University. He was influenced mostly by Clyde Kluckhohn at Harvard just as the Chicago students were impressed by Redfield and Radcliffe-Brown.

World War and the Great Transformation

The last years of the Chicago field school at Kincaid took place in the shadow of the beginnings of World War II in Asia and in Europe. With the entry of the United States into the war in late 1941, operations using WPA labor were shut down in March of 1942, and only a few short visits to clear up minor points were made thereafter. As the United States began an all-out effort to shift to a war economy, WPA and other sources of labor dried up for archaeological projects, and many graduate students in archaeology found themselves in the armed forces rather than doing archaeology. The war created a hiatus in archaeological excavation, but it also had great impact on the theoretical devel-

opment of the field in Illinois and nationwide. The functionalist beginnings of the late thirties somehow got lost in the rush and bustle of the new postwar academic environment. Anthropological historians should understand better than they do how fundamental the changes in American academic life were after World War II. The most particular change was directly involved with the impact of the GI Bill on universities as well as on the students. Before World War II, American universities were pretty much the domain of a relatively small number of elite and upper bourgeois students and faculty. Anthropology programs may have been slightly less “elite” and bourgeois than some others, but in archaeology, at least, what passed for “gentlemen” in America dominated the field. The economics alone of prewar higher education ensured that only those with the means for a protracted education could pursue so exotic a field. Although it is difficult to accumulate hard data on the social class of archaeologists and would-be archaeologists, I think that there is little doubt that the great expansion of anthropology and archaeology programs after the war was a reflection of the down-classing of archaeology in America. Not all of the “new” postwar generation was “GI Bill,” of course. The impact of “democratization” of archaeology (and, of course, of academic life in general) began only with the rapid growth tripped off by that act. Lewis Binford’s “memoirs” in *An Archaeological Perspective* (1972) may have flaws as objective history, but they poignantly document the interaction between the “country boy” (and I have personally heard Binford so describe himself) and the “gentlemen” in tweeds. Such experiences are rarely acknowledged (but also see Young and Fowler 2000), but the concerns of American archaeology, like American archaeologists, were powerfully influenced by these changes, especially as the new generation began to move into academic positions—often in new departments with few older-generation anthropologists. It may at first seem contradictory that the initial impact of the growth in programs was to give a second wind to culture history at the expense of functionalism. Walter W. Taylor’s dissertation, *A Study of Archeology*, was published just as these events were happening (1948), but for a number of reasons it did not have the results that Taylor and others had hoped and anticipated. It has often been thought that the polemic tone of the history of American archaeology presented in Part I of the work angered many and led to a rejection of the “conjunctive” approach. I think that the real answer simply lies in the decline in the role of elitist institutions after the war and in the democratization of archaeology—the functionalists were simply swamped out in a sea of culture historians. And, of course, the allure of the British social anthropological model was diminished in the midst of worldwide decolonization and the political and economic weakness of Britain (and France) in the immediate postwar years.

After World War II, Cole retired from the University of Chicago, and social

anthropology became, for a time, dominant in the program there. Even the collections from the field school excavations were discarded, to be saved by the Illinois State Museum and by Glen Black at the University of Indiana. In these circumstances, archaeology at the University of Chicago was hardly likely to be a center of development of a functionalist archaeology. With Steward at the University of Illinois and Taylor at Southern Illinois University, one might also have expected one or both of those institutions to become foci of functionalism, but this did not happen. Most undergraduates and graduate students in the late fifties and early sixties did not read Taylor's work as a key part of their curriculum. It was left for the next generation to discover the same kind of unease with the disjunction between "cutting edge" social anthropology and the theory and practice of archaeology that had been felt by those graduate students at Kincaid.

Other Postwar Developments

An enormous amount of basic work resulted from the expansion of academic programs in the postwar years. A catalogue of these would fill many pages, but the work of Melvin ("Mike") L. Fowler can stand as one of the best sort of examples of the wide development of basic archaeological data in this period. Beginning in the early fifties, Fowler published a continuing stream of papers ranging from survey in White County (1950), work on important Archaic sites in southern Illinois (1957), the famous Modoc Rock Shelter (1959), and ending up with important work at the Cahokia site (1978, 1997). In the process, Fowler held positions at no less than three of the main research programs doing work in Illinois—the Illinois State Museum, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Although exceptional, Fowler's record is outstanding, not unique. Many archaeologists who began work in the 1950s continue to make substantial contributions to the present. Fowler's recent personal history of work at Cahokia (Young and Fowler 2000) indicates how the changes in class and income affected interactions between the older and younger generation in the late 1950s and early 1960s (e.g., Young and Fowler 2000:11, et seq.).

In 1950, J. Charles Kelley came to SIUC to head the museum, and staff were added to the museum and began a joint Sociology and Anthropology Department (1953) until the formation of an independent graduate (and smaller undergraduate) anthropology program in 1957. This was the first public department of anthropology in Illinois. In 1960, the program began offering the Ph.D. degree, another first for public education in the state. Other faculty members at the time included Charles Lange, Carroll Riley, and Walter W. Taylor.

Another postwar development was the hiring of Oscar Lewis and John McGregor at the University of Illinois in 1948 and the establishment of an independent anthropology program there in 1959 (Giles 1999).

Alan Harn, James Porter, Howard Winters, and many others are other archaeologists whose work spanned this period and created a solid foundation on which archaeologists of all paradigmatic approaches continue to build. Many of this generation are exceptionally colorful and mighty legendary figures about whom campfire stories are told over pitchers of beer. The folklore of Illinois archaeology is especially rich because of these archaeologists.

Illinois Archaeological Survey

Events in Illinois archaeology typify general postwar developments in many ways, but the number of academic and scholarly programs in Illinois was larger than in many states. In addition to the older programs—such as those at the Illinois State Museum, the University of Chicago, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, and the University of Illinois—archaeologists were being hired at Northwestern University, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, Illinois State University, and at many other state institutions. One of the first issues that concerned archaeologists in Illinois was the failure of the state to address adequately the need for a statewide file of archaeological sites. In the absence of governmental action, the professional archaeologists of Illinois banded together in 1958 to form a not-for-profit corporation—the Illinois Archaeological Survey, Inc. (IAS)—to maintain a state file. The programs at the Illinois State Museum, the University of Illinois (where the file was eventually maintained), and Southern Illinois University Carbondale were the founding members. Many of the archaeologists who helped in this organization, such as J. C. Kelley at Southern Illinois University Carbondale and John McGregor at the University of Illinois, were not themselves (usually) practicing Illinois archaeologists. In 1963, Charles (“Chuck”) J. Bareis of the University of Illinois took on the office of secretary-treasurer, arguably the key office in the organization. For some thirty years, Chuck managed and controlled access to the only statewide file of sites (archived at the Illinois State Museum, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, and the University of Illinois). It was in this context that Bareis became widely hailed as “Rotten to the Corps” when he used this power to assist state and federal agencies such as the Corps of Engineers to do a little more archaeology than some Corps colonels or hopeful administrators may have wished to do. Bareis was a fierce and forceful advocate for Illinois archaeology who had the deep respect of his colleagues (e.g., Emerson et al. 1993).

The goals of the Illinois Archaeological Survey were to ensure that archae-

ology in Illinois was of acceptable standards, and its ownership of the only “complete” state file gave it a powerful tool to this end, especially as “salvage” archaeology developed later. As archaeology became a profession in a business sense, the Illinois Archaeological Survey took on many features of a professional guild with all the implications that such a structure has. By the 1990s, however, the role of the IAS had reverted to that of a regional professional society, sponsoring annual meetings and publishing a state archaeological journal. The control of the state archaeological file, at long last, passed to state governmental institutions, and the “power” of the IAS as a guild was reduced, although it lives on as an important voice of professional archaeologists in the state.

Salvage and the Coming of Processualism

One reason the Illinois Archaeological Survey came to be so important in the archaeology of Illinois was that combination of state records and the unprecedented *need* for those records in the developing field of salvage archaeology. The heroic struggle for the Moss-Bennett legislation and the important role of McGimsey and Davis at Arkansas and Chapman at Missouri has been told many times in the literature of contract archaeology, but “public archaeology” is discussed astonishingly little in the earlier editions of Gordon Willey and Jeremy Sabloff’s culture history of archaeology (e.g., 1980) or even in efforts at a more social history of archaeology such as Patterson (1995) or Trigger (1989). By the 1980s, so-called salvage or public archaeology was arguably becoming the setting of the vast bulk of the “conditions of everyday life” for many, even most, archaeologists. In Illinois, for example, much of the praxis in which the theory of the New or Processual Archaeology was developing was very much part of the salvage scene. Lewis R. Binford, especially, in his work in the Carlyle Reservoir for the Southern Illinois University Museum developed his approach resolving the contradictions of functionalism, ecology, and logical positivism into a synthetic “New” approach (e.g., Binford 1964a; Binford et al. 1966 [later reprinted, 1970]). The Carlyle work somehow even sparked an off-Broadway play, later presented on PBS, titled *The Mound Builders* by Lanford Wilson (1972).

New Archaeology, of course, did not have only “salvage” origins. The work undertaken in the Illinois Valley by Stuart Struever and his associates at Northwestern University came to be a model of a “combined arms” kind of “archeology” (spelled without the *a* to indicate its modernity). A center united a number of specialists in diverse fields in a single research institute (for a popular account, see Struever and Carlson 1977; Struever and Holton 1979). Although there was a decided “salvage” component, much of the program was

funded through private donations, unfortunately always lots and lots of small donations, never the really massive private or public support that was hoped for. This was the New Archaeology in action; practice was to be brought into conformity with processualist theory in an almost utopian research village at Kampsville, Illinois. The best known of these projects was the long-term excavations at the Koster site, near Kampsville. Alas, like so many of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century “alternative communities,” Kampsville and its dream foundered on the realities of cash flow and inadequate indirect costs. It continues today as the Center for American Archeology, actively engaged in regional archaeology.

Because we were asked to comment on our personal involvement, I should note that it was at the beginning of this period that I came to Southern Illinois University as Mike Fowler’s replacement in 1966. Two other Southeastern archaeologists, John Belmont and Frank Rackerby, were hired about the same time. Together with staff from the university museum such as Phil Weigand, the local work begun by Lewis Binford, Alan Harn, Howard Winters, and Fowler—to name only a few of the many persons engaged in southern Illinois archaeology after the fifties—was carried on. On a visit to the famous Kincaid site we discovered that a portion of the site known as Mx^f36 had been leveled. With support from the SIUC Graduate School Office of Research, we began salvage operations in 1967 and followed up this work with aerial flights over the site at intervals. Under favorable conditions, some of the photographs showed clear features (see Muller 1986:196). In turn, these flights made it clear that channelization and clearing of forest were substantially altering conditions in the Black Bottom of the Ohio, so we began a weekend ground survey that, at length, developed into a field school program in the locality of Kincaid in 1970. The result was a nearly complete walkover survey of the Black Bottom and many surrounding localities. Controlled surface collections and sample excavations at various classes of sites continued into the 1990s, including work at one of the larger Mississippian salt productions sites near the mouth of the Wabash on the Ohio. This work was supported by various grants, ranging from the National Science Foundation to the Corps of Engineers to state agencies, in addition to university support. In the later stages of the project, considerable support in many forms was provided by the National Forest Service. Always small scale, what Patty Jo Watson once described as “shoe-string” archaeology, the project continued to follow a largely processual mode of hypothetical-deductive research. The initial goals were largely within the parameters of what was then called “settlement-subsistence” investigation, but as time progressed, larger scale economic and political economic questions such as craft specialization and domestic economy came to dominate the research questions being addressed. Although independent of this “Lower Ohio Valley Project,”

similar issues were being addressed in other work after the formation of the Center for Archaeological Investigations at SIUC. Among these was dissertation research by Charles Cobb, who has continued to work with SIUC in combination with his own institution at Binghamton in New York. Cobb, in conjunction with Brian Butler, has been investigating upland Mississippian sites both in southeastern and southwestern Illinois. Altogether, like the combined efforts at other institutions such as Kampsville, a broad corpus of data has been assembled that allows us to investigate a wide range of questions much more deeply than would have been dreamed possible some thirty years ago.

The FAI-270 Project

A major turning point in Illinois archaeology occurred with the development of a circumferential interstate on the eastern, Illinois side of St. Louis. The road was originally (and finally) termed Interstate 255, and the archaeological work was largely done under the rubric of “Federally-Approved Interstate 270” or FAI-270. It was one of the largest federally funded archaeological “rescue” operations, and the direction of the multi-institutional effort fell largely to Charles J. Bareis of the University of Illinois as Principal Investigator and Program Coordinator. Project Director James W. Porter was heavily involved in day-to-day oversight of a large number of excavations on a grand scale (see the early summary report, Bareis and Porter 1984). The contributors to the summary volume are only a part of the long list of young archaeologists who directed field projects, carried out analysis, and performed various specialist tasks in this large program. The folklore of this project will entertain and instruct many future generations of students. The customary badge of American Bottom archaeology was to have the sleeves of one’s shirt torn off, but this was the least of the colorful aspects of this project. Such landmarks as Pearl’s Bar played no minor part in the long days and nights of archaeological work and discussions that helped to shape many of today’s best-known and prolific archaeologists. It could hardly have been expected that there would not be tensions between the older and newer generations working at the sites, but these—in the context of the increasing dominance of processual archaeology in a still often culture-historical time—were more frequently, I think, a source of strength rather than a problem. Like the earlier tensions at the University of Chicago field schools, the Young Turks of the FAI-270 project produced a series of excellent reports that managed to satisfy both “New” and culture-historical archaeologists alike. In the huge collection of facts about the American Bottom that were amassed were the data that allowed not only culture-historical but also processual and postprocessual issues to be discussed. I still retain as strong a feeling as I ever have that effective archaeological research work in practice

best follows from a well- and clearly defined theory, but the FAI-270 project is an illustration of how good and careful excavation and analysis can serve more than one theoretical master. Bareis and Porter's attention to detail was famous, but in forcing such high standards of fieldwork and record keeping, they served the muse of archaeology well.

Postprocessualism and the Reaction against Processualism

Although Illinois may still contain, as do all states, a modicum of self-avowed culture historians, the center of issues has moved on to different fields. Out of the opposition of culture historians and processualists, there are several new syntheses, not just one. In that sense, there really are no longer either culture historians nor processualists. Rather, there are only postprocessualists, if it is made clear that not all "post"-processualists are "*postprocessualists*" in the Cambridge University sense. The issues that are being played out in current controversies are diverse but can be quickly summarized under a few oppositions. Most of these relate primarily to the interpretation of Mississippian in general and Cahokia in particular. The last distinction, however, is by far the most important—namely, how archaeology is done and by whom.

State : Chiefdom

In certain senses, this is a nonstarter because relatively few scholars still hold that Cahokia, even, was the center of a state in the classic sense. Yet, at the same time, the issues that resonate in the distinctions below are those that originated in the traditional contrasts between *states* and less-organized polities such as *chiefdoms* (à la Service's distinctions) that generated so much of the processualist program in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Exaggerationalists : Minimalists

Originally, state-level organization was suggested at Cahokia, but the emphasis has now changed with "exaggerationalists" seeing control and power at Cahokia as being on a *qualitatively* different scale than those of the smaller Mississippian sites. "Minimalists," on the other hand, are those who acknowledge the difference in scale at Cahokia but see it as being more *quantitative* than qualitative. Although these terms originally referred more to the scale of population estimates, recent work has tended to converge on a narrower range of estimates in the tens of thousands.

Political Economy : Political Economy

No one doubts the "dignity" of the greatest Mississippian chiefs, but the issues outlined above now center on the degree of "power" held by these august per-

sonages. This kind of debate will continue, as it has in fields such as history, with the never-ending argument between those who emphasize one or another of the central issues of *political economy*.

Theoreticians : Contract Workers

Finally, one issue that grows in Illinois, as it does elsewhere in the nation, is the difference between those scholars holding academic, tenure-track positions and those who increasingly do the bulk of fieldwork under contract or hire. In Illinois, the existence of a strong state professional organization—the Illinois Archaeological Survey—has so far helped to prevent a great social schism. Nonetheless, the rise of profit-centered archaeology and the conversion of a whole segment of field and laboratory employees into a kind of insecure proletarian status have potential for substantially altering the nature of archaeological fieldwork.

Conclusions

I think that even such a brief sketch of the history of Illinois archaeology illustrates the benefits of a retrospective view. Most of the issues that have stirred Illinois archaeologists have been the same that have resonated in other areas of archaeology as well. As it has happened, Illinois's central location and large population of archaeologists have meant that it has contributed much to the development of American archaeological theory and practice.

10 The History of Archaeology in West Virginia

Bettye J. Broyles

In 1963, when the state of West Virginia was one hundred years old, it published a centennial edition of the West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey's yearly report (Price 1963). A history of archaeological activities in the state was prepared for this publication by Edward V. McMichael, then head of the Survey's Section of Archeology (1963a:159–170). I have relied heavily on his work for the history of West Virginia archaeology up to 1963. I can carry the story only as far as 1976, at which time I left the state. My discussion, therefore, speaks only to the formative years of West Virginia archaeology; subsequent developments must be left to others.

Archaeological Research prior to 1960

Archaeological research in the present state of West Virginia dates back to 1838 when the Grave Creek Mound was opened (Townsend 1962 [1839]). Townsend's newspaper account was reprinted in 1962 in the *West Virginia Archeologist*, and the entire history of the mound was summarized in a separate publication by Delf Norona (1962:1–60).

The only other work prior to the Civil War was a report on the Guyandot petroglyphs near Salt Rock in Cabell County that was included by Squier and Davis (1848) in their *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*.

Following the Civil War and the founding of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879, archaeological activities in West Virginia increased. As a part of Cyrus Thomas's mound exploration program, Colonel P. W. Norris was sent to the Kanawha Valley, where he dug shafts and tunnels into many of the mounds of that area (Thomas 1887b, 1894). During this same period, Gerard Fowke (1894)

was investigating sites in the James and Potomac Valleys for the Bureau. Fowke also opened a few mounds in the eastern panhandle of West Virginia.

Another Bureau of Ethnology worker, W. H. Holmes, investigated Indian Cave in Harrison County (Holmes 1890:217–223) and later commented on some West Virginia pottery in his report on pottery of the eastern United States (Holmes 1903).

A few West Virginia residents were also active in the state during the late nineteenth century. J. P. Hale opened a mound near Belva in Fayette County and studied the Mount Carbon stone walls (Hale 1961).

From 1900 through 1930, little significant archaeological work was conducted in West Virginia. In the late 1920s, the Beech Bottom Mound in Brooke County was opened (Bache and Satterthwaite 1930). During the 1930s, James B. Griffin studied a few West Virginia artifacts from the Fort Ancient culture, but no excavations were conducted. Griffin's conclusions were included in *The Fort Ancient Aspect* (Griffin 1943b).

As was the case in much of the United States, there was relatively little work done in the early 1940s. About 1940, Carl Manson and Howard A. MacCord excavated the Herriott Farm village site in Hampshire County, probably a historic Susquehannock village (Manson and MacCord 1941, 1944; MacCord 1952). In 1945, William S. Webb and Charles E. Snow published their extensive study of the Adena culture (1945). A supplement was subsequently issued by Webb and Raymond S. Baby (1957). These studies were based mainly on information from Ohio and Kentucky because few of the numerous Adena mounds in West Virginia had been excavated.

Beginning in 1948, the Smithsonian Institution intermittently explored sites in West Virginia. Ralph Solecki (1949a, 1949b) surveyed two proposed reservoirs, one on the West Fork of the Monongahela River and the other on the Bluestone River. Also in 1948, Solecki conducted salvage excavations at the Natrium Mound in Marshall County (Solecki 1953). Frank Setzler of the U.S. National Museum conducted salvage excavations in the same area when the Welcome Mound was to be destroyed (Setzler 1960).

During the next decade, archaeological activity increased. In 1950, the Carnegie Museum inaugurated a program termed the Upper Ohio Valley Archaeological Survey. During a three-year period, William Mayer-Oakes investigated the area, including most of northern West Virginia, and ultimately published *The Prehistory of the Upper Ohio Valley* (Mayer-Oakes 1955a). In 1954, excavations were conducted by the Carnegie Museum in Hancock County at the Watson Stone Mound (Dragoo 1956) and the Globe Hill Shell Heap (Mayer-Oakes 1955b). This work was followed by excavations in two rock shelters in Preston and Monongalia Counties (Dragoo 1959a) and the Gatts Mound in Marshall County (Dragoo 1959b).

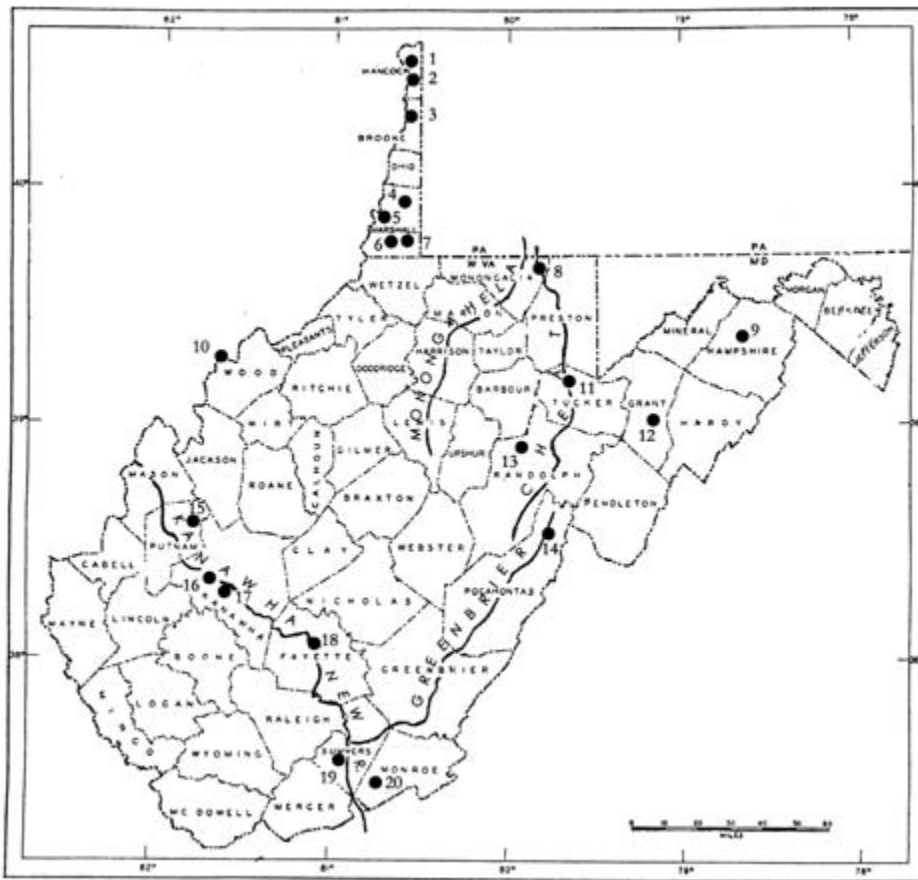


Figure 10.1. Some major archaeological sites in West Virginia. 1. Watson Stone Mound; 2. Globe Hill Shell Heap; 3. Beech Bottom Mound; 4. Natrium Mound; 5. Grave Creek Mound; 6. Welcome Mound; 7. Gatts Mound; 8. Chisler Site; 9. Herriott Farm Site; 10. Blennerhassett Island; 11. Rowelsburgh Reservoir; 12. Petersburg; 13. Hyre Mound; 14. Hevener Mound; 15. Buffalo Site; 16. St. Albans Site; 17. Murad Mound; 18. Mount Carbon Site; 19. Richland Mound; 20. Mill Pond Site. (Courtesy of Charles H. McNutt)

During this same period, the West Virginia Archeological Society was formed. After its formation, the Society sponsored numerous excavations and maintained the site survey records for the state. In 1953, the Society also sponsored a survey of Mason and Cabell Counties by Leonard Johnson. In the summer of 1958, Dr. James Keller conducted excavations at Mount Carbon in Fayette County (Keller 1961).

Another Society project was the founding of a museum at the base of Grave Creek Mound. Prior to 1960, this small museum contained the only archaeological display in the state. Revenue from museum visitors paid for the publication of the *West Virginia Archeologist*.

In the late 1950s, James Swauger began a long-term study of the many petroglyphs in West Virginia (Swauger 1961). These investigations continued for many years and resulted in numerous articles that were published in the *West Virginia Archeologist*.

Throughout the 1950s, several attempts were made to persuade West Virginia University to employ an archaeologist, but financial support could not be arranged. As a result, Dr. Paul H. Price, State Geologist and Director of the West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, became interested in the problem of securing an archaeologist. On July 1, 1960, the legislature authorized the Geological Survey to take on this added interest, and the Section of Archeology was established.

Work by the Section of Archeology

In 1960, Dr. Edward V. McMichael was employed by the Geological Survey to head the new Section of Archeology. During the fall, a survey of Nicholas County identified eighty new sites and illustrated that even the hilly sections of the state contained a wealth of archaeological remains (McMichael 1965). This survey was conducted in connection with a study of the Summersville Reservoir area. No significant sites were found in the reservoir, and salvage operations were unnecessary.

In 1960 and 1961, McMichael investigated the Chisler site near Westover in Monongalia County. Postmolds indicated circular houses; additional artifacts included pottery, stone and bone tools, and ornaments. A triangular projectile point suggested a Late Prehistoric Monongahela culture. Charles Chisler's collection from this site was donated to the Section of Archeology in 1971.

Early in 1961, reports of extensive "pot-hunting" at the Mount Carbon Village site in Fayette County reached McMichael, leading him to conduct limited test excavations in May and again in August. Strong local interest resulted in the cooperation of the Fayette County Redevelopment Corporation and West Virginia Institute of Technology in securing an Aid to Dependent Children of the Unemployed crew to help excavate the site. Work began in September and continued until December. Work resumed at the site in March 1962 and continued until July. The six months spent at the Mount Carbon Village site produced an excellent sample of material and data to indicate the existence of the entirely new Armstrong culture (McMichael 1962).

During the spring of 1962, a small burial mound was salvaged in Putnam County near Winfield. This mound proved to be another component of the Armstrong culture (McMichael 1963a:165). In August, Robert C. Dunnell excavated the Britt Bottom site in Marshall County (Dunnell 1971:11–30).

After concluding work at Mount Carbon, McMichael investigated a mound near St. Albans that was threatened with destruction. From August through November 1962, work proceeded at the Murad Mound, the excavation being temporarily halted by the onset of winter. During the excavation, one large log tomb was found, and the cultural affiliation appeared to be mixed Adena and Armstrong (McMichael and Mairs 1969).

McMichael also spent many days visiting excavations being conducted by members of the West Virginia Archeological Society, including the Prison Farm Stone Mound near Wheeling, the Wilhelm Mound in Brooke County, the Buffalo site in Putnam County, the Tiger Rock site in Boone County, and the May Moore Mound in Mason County.

After its founding in 1960, the Section of Archeology had assumed the responsibility for the site survey files. By 1962, more than six hundred sites had been recorded in the state.

In developing a program for West Virginia, McMichael noted that most of the archaeological work had been concentrated in the northern part of the state. A major objective, then, became to investigate thoroughly the central and southern parts of the state. This included continuing work at the Murad Mound in the spring of 1963 and beginning a major excavation at the Buffalo Indian Village site in Putnam County. McMichael ended his 1963 article by saying: "Another possible future project is the excavation of mounds in Randolph County; if another archaeologist is added to the Section of Archaeology staff, these mounds may be excavated after July 1963 as another Centennial project" (McMichael 1963a:170).

As fulfillment of this wishful thinking, I was added to the Section of Archeology staff in 1963, and three of the mounds in Randolph County were excavated. Only the Hyre Mound produced any cultural remains or burials (Broyles 1964:9).

McMichael spent the summer at the Buffalo site, a large Fort Ancient village in Putnam County (McMichael 1964a:9, 1966:11). Frank T. Schnell of the University of Georgia served as McMichael's field assistant. (Schnell had previously worked with Charles McNutt in South Dakota. Archaeology is a small world.)

In the spring and fall of 1963, McMichael investigated sites being excavated by members of the West Virginia Archeological Society. The Grigsby Mound in Brooke County was recorded and photographed, and the artifacts from the

Linton Mound, which had been destroyed about 1886, were photographed. He also visited an excavation by anthropology students from West Liberty College at the Wilhelm Mound in Brooke County.

I conducted a site survey of Upshur County during the spring of 1964, locating and mapping 189 new sites, including one Paleo-Indian site. McMichael completed a survey in the East Lynn Reservoir area, located on the East Fork of Twelve Pole Creek in Wayne County, and Oscar Mairs finished work at Murad Mound.

In June, McMichael returned to the Buffalo site, and I began excavations at the St. Albans site in the Kanawha River Valley west of Charleston. The Geological Survey's core drilling rig was used to determine the depth and approximate stratigraphy of cultural deposits at St. Albans. Burned earth and charcoal were found to a depth of thirty-five feet below the modern surface. Cultural remains were found to a depth of nine and one-half feet during the first summer's excavations. A zone about one and one-half feet below the present surface was dated by radiocarbon to 6300 B.C. and contained a new type of projectile point, which was named Kanawha Stemmed (Broyles 1971a:58-59).

By the end of the 1964 field season, McMichael had recovered a total of 525 burials and many cultural items from the Buffalo site, as well as evidence of a large number of structures. Brooks Hutto served as McMichael's field assistant.

During July of 1964, McMichael, Father Clifford Lewis, Brooks Hutto, and I conducted investigations at Camp Allegheny with the one hundred campers from the National Youth Science Camp. The project is etched vividly in my memory. Many Civil War period utilitarian artifacts were recovered from several house sites.

Oscar Mairs salvaged a small mound south of Madison in Boone County that was threatened by construction of a new golf course. Very little was found in this Armstrong period mound other than a few cremations. Additional fieldwork was conducted by members of the Kanawha Chapter of the West Virginia Archeological Society in 1964. Oscar Mairs and Hollis Youse completed a site survey of Wyoming County, and Society members investigated the Lee Farm site in Mason County. The Wheeling Chapter completed excavations at Fairchance Mound in Marshall County, recovering more than forty burials and a large number of artifacts.

In 1965, Oscar Mairs, Hollis Youse, Edward McMichael, and I were all in the field. In late April, Oscar Mairs and Hollis Youse conducted archaeological surveys and testing in the East Lynn Reservoir area of Wayne County south of Huntington. No culturally significant sites were located. Mairs also supervised excavations at the Institute Mound in Kanawha County. This proved to be another Middle Woodland Armstrong Mound.

The Shawnee Lake site in Mercer County was visited by McMichael in July 1965. Both shell-tempered and limestone-tempered pottery were recovered.

During this same year, McMichael also spent a third season at the Buffalo site (McMichael 1966:11). A Late Archaic level was discovered about four feet below the existing surface. Many stemmed and corner-notched points were recovered, along with numerous blanks and flint chips.

I returned to the St. Albans site, extending the excavations from the previous year (Broyles 1966). What I suspect to have been one of the earliest water screening systems was set up. Excavations were carried to a depth of eighteen feet below the present surface (six feet had been removed previously to facilitate construction of U.S. 60). Forty-one discrete zones were isolated in the site profile. We had stepped the profile in five-foot sections, but at the end of the field season we removed two steps, giving us a profile seventeen feet high and fifteen feet wide. I do not think you can do this anymore.

By the spring of 1966, the Section of Archeology had moved into new quarters on the ground floor of the Mineral Industries Building. The annual meeting of the West Virginia Archeological Society was held in Morgantown in October, and the highlight of the weekend was the opening of the new archaeology museum.

Fieldwork in the summer of 1966 was limited to the St. Albans site. Because of a broken wrist, McMichael was confined to the office but managed to get caught up on some of his writing chores. His plans to work in the Rowlesburgh Reservoir were, of necessity, postponed.

McMichael left West Virginia in 1967 for a position at Indiana State University, and I was promoted to Archeologist and Head, Section of Archeology. Due to a lack of funding, no work was possible at the St. Albans site. My first summer as Archeologist was devoted largely to an analysis of the large Henry Kelly collection recently acquired by the West Virginia Archeological Society.

I was able to conduct a survey of the Kanawha Basin for the National Park Service in 1967. In the fall, I began teaching the Introduction to Archaeology class at West Virginia University formerly taught by McMichael.

Members of the Kanawha Chapter began excavations at Snag Creek Rock Shelter in Putnam County and at the Cedar Grove Mound in Kanawha County. In August of 1967, Hillis J. Youse (1969:4–28) excavated the Young Mound near Dunbar.

In June of 1968, work at St. Albans resumed under a National Science Foundation grant. A much larger area was opened to a depth of about twenty feet below the present surface (Broyles 1966, Broyles 1971a), at which point groundwater prohibited further work. At season's end, the site was backfilled with fly ash and topped with soil in hopes of obtaining funds for future excavations.

The projectile point sequence from this site had proved to be one of the most important, well defined, and well dated in the eastern United States; many think it still is.

Also in 1968, a survey of the Amos Power Plant site near Charleston was conducted in June by Hillis Youse. Charles Lally of Wheeling excavated the Mc-Collock Mound in September and October. Three burials and five features were recorded by Lally along with thirteen artifacts and a few flakes. The mound probably dated from Middle Woodland times.

Richard E. Jensen joined the Section staff in January of 1969 and spent the summer in the Cheat River Valley of Preston and Tucker Counties (Jensen 1970). I investigated five proposed reservoirs in the southern and central parts of the state. During June of 1969, Salem College sponsored excavations at the Goff Mound south of Clarksburg. A rock shelter in Clay County excavated by Jean and Gene Bays produced more than three hundred artifacts.

In April of 1970, I, along with Sigfus Olafson and others, examined a series of stone walls on top of Armstrong Mountain that were being destroyed by strip mining. Mr. Jensen resigned in June and returned to Nebraska. I conducted excavations during June, July, and August at the Hevener site in Pocahontas County. I found that what had been thought to be a stone and earth mound was actually a historic cabin site dating from the 1790s (Broyles 1970b: 24, 1971b).

During June of 1970, a large collection of artifacts from Hardy and Hampshire Counties was analyzed and photographed for a future publication (Broyles 1969:31-62, 1970a:31-45). Hillis Youse (1976:37-55) excavated three Middle Woodland mounds at the Jarvis Farm site in Kanawha County during the summer of 1970.

In July, the Section of Archeology received a grant from the Benedum Foundation to complete the reports on the Buffalo site excavated by McMichael. The publication was divided into four parts with different authors for each: Broyles (1976) described the Late Archaic component; John E. Guilday (1971) the faunal remains; Lee H. Hanson Jr. (1975) the structures, features, and artifacts; and James Metress (1971) the skeletal remains.

Daniel B. Fowler and I spent several weeks in 1971 excavating the Richland Mound in Summers County. A few new sites were checked, and several collections were analyzed and photographed. Meanwhile, Hillis Youse investigated the Tompkins Farm site and Jarvis Farm Mounds in Kanawha County. Fowler was hired as a full-time staff member in July.

In 1972, Fowler was appointed to the West Virginia Antiquities Commission, and I was appointed to the governor's Board of Review. That same year, Fowler and I excavated a test pit at the Hansford site in Kanawha County. The small

sample of artifacts recovered dated the site from Late Archaic to Middle Woodland times.

During the year, the section began a survey to locate the many sites in West Virginia where historic pottery (stoneware) was manufactured and to photograph as many of the stoneware items from these sites as possible (Broyles 1972:30).

The twenty-ninth Southeastern Archaeological Conference met in Morgantown in October of 1972. The topic of an all-day symposium was "Fort Ancient and Its Relation to the Mississippian Culture." James Griffin chaired this session, and I recall three of his graduate students who were later to make major contributions to the field: Jim Price, Bruce Smith, and Chris Peebles.

A total of eight projects, most of which included several sites, were undertaken during the summer of 1973. I served as principal investigator for all work, with various field supervisors in charge of the excavations. In July, I spent two weeks with the National Youth Science Camp in Pocahontas County. A portion of the chimney from the eighteenth-century Nottingham family home was excavated.

Michael Beckes tested two sites in the R. D. Bailey Reservoir in Wyoming County; Emil Liddell (1974a, 1974b) tested several sites in a reservoir on the Little Kanawha River and one site at the Hannibal Locks and Dam in Marshall County; and Daniel Fowler conducted a survey at the Willow Island Locks and Dam in Pleasants County but found no sites. These projects were funded by the National Park Service.

Preliminary investigations also were conducted on Blennerhassett Island. Darrell W. Fulmer and Kenneth C. Reid supervised the fieldwork on the historic and prehistoric sites. The work was financed by the Blennerhassett Drama Association. Fulmer was faced with the task of finding the exact location of the Blennerhassett Mansion amid a jungle of weeds, trees, and very healthy poison ivy. He was successful! Reid located and mapped several prehistoric sites on the lower end of the island.

Another 1973 project was at the Grave Creek Mound in Marshall County. Funded by the State Department of Natural Resources, I opened an eighty-foot-long trench in the lot adjacent to the mound to determine whether the area was composed of fill or was the original ground surface.

Work that year also included a site survey in the Bluefield area conducted by the newly formed Appalachian Highlands Chapter of the West Virginia Archaeological Society. Its members located several previously unreported rock shelters and village sites. The Society's Kanawha Chapter continued excavations at the Hansford site.

Because of the increase in highway construction throughout West Virginia,

a special “blanket contract” was signed between the Section of Archeology and the West Virginia Department of Transportation. In the fall, I attended a workshop conducted by the Department of Highways in Baltimore, Maryland. Participants from several other states were interested in the new cooperative program initiated in West Virginia.

Several projects were conducted during 1974 in cooperation with the Soil Conservation Service, the National Park Service, the Department of Highways, and the Blennerhassett Drama Association.

Fowler and I completed a survey of the proposed power plant location in Mason County. The Faye and Jewel Mounds were identified, both of which had been disturbed by plowing and/or looting. Michael Beckes supervised work in the Stonewall Jackson Reservoir area on the West Fork River in Lewis County, and Alan Cooper conducted salvage excavations at the Wolf Run site in Marshall County. A survey also was conducted in the Beech Fork Lake area of Wayne and Cabell Counties.

In the spring of 1974, E. Thomas Hemmings joined the Section of Archeology staff to supervise the prehistoric site excavations on Blennerhassett Island. I supervised the Mansion site excavation (Broyles and Hemmings 1975). Almost five months were spent on the island (to the middle of December). Although the site is on an island, visitors were so numerous that it became necessary to work on weekends in order to complete our excavations.

During the field season, the island was visited by several dignitaries, including Congressman Robert H. Mollohan and author Gore Vidal. Vidal spent the afternoon at the historic site and in the evening presented a lecture. Much to our excitement, a camera crew from the TV show *60 Minutes* filmed the proceedings all afternoon. When the segment aired, however, the only footage shown was Mr. Vidal getting off the plane in Parkersburg and giving his lecture that night.

Fieldwork during 1975 was limited, and the time was spent mainly in catching up on report writing. I attended several conferences, and most of the Blennerhassett Mansion material was cleaned, recorded, and photographed. In May, Fowler and Joan K. Pitts located and recorded the Feather Rock petroglyphs (Fowler and Pitts 1976:20–25). The Ohio Valley Archaeological Conference met in Morgantown over the Labor Day weekend.

The following week I found myself terminated from the Geological Survey. After the first of the year, I moved to Mississippi. After the fateful fall of 1975, my knowledge of activities of the Section of Archeology has been limited to articles published in the *West Virginia Archeologist*. The rare reader who is intimately familiar with the counties of West Virginia will have observed that, in approximately twelve years, McMichael’s program of extending archaeo-

logical attention to the central and southern parts of the state had been accomplished rather well.

In 1976, work was conducted by Fowler and Hemmings, and others were added to the staff during the year. The Gore Mound in Boone County was excavated by Gary R. Wilkins. This small earth-and-rock mound produced a Montgomery Incised pottery vessel (Wilkins 1977:1-12). Extensive core drilling was conducted at the Grave Creek Mound in 1976 under the supervision of Hemmings (1977:59-68). Tom Kuhn, Dewey Sanderson, and Bob Maslowski (1978:16-27) investigated the Weed Shelter in Cabell County.

During 1976 and 1977, the Edgewood Rock Shelter in Kanawha County was investigated by Hillis J. Youse (1976:28-46). Excavations were conducted by Jeffrey R. Greybill (1979:1-23) in Mason County at three sites: Isinglass Mound, Rosenberry Farm, and Rosenberry Mound. R. P. Stephen Davis Jr. (1979:30-47) excavated a small prehistoric camp site on Elk River in Kanawha County.

Within a few years, the Geological Survey, including the Section of Archeology, moved their offices to Mount Chateau on Cheat Lake. The archaeology museum was dismantled and the artifacts packed away. The Section of Archeology was eventually removed from the Geological Survey, and archaeological investigations have subsequently been conducted by a variety of institutions.

11 Virginia's Archaeology

A Look Back and a Look Ahead

Howard A. MacCord Sr.

The Early Years

Much of what we know about Algonkian Indian lifeways in the greater Chesapeake Bay region derives from writings of early explorers (Thomas Hariot, John White, John Smith, William Strachey, and others). There are almost no good data about Virginia's Iroquoian and Siouan tribes other than names, and for most areas west of the Blue Ridge Mountains even these are lacking. Archaeology has risen to fill the gaps in these culture histories.

Much evidence left by Indians in Virginia has been lost to a variety of causes. Most prehistoric sites have been disturbed by historic and modern activities, especially construction and surface mining. Coastal erosion and the submergence of sites due to rising sea levels and three-hundred-plus years of farming have contributed to the obliteration of archaeological remains.

Although over the years collecting of artifacts, deliberate digging, and serendipitous finds occurred all over Virginia, few records exist. One outstanding exception is the work of Thomas Jefferson. He trenched a burial mound near his Monticello home and wrote about it to a friend in France (Jefferson 1955 [1787]). Because he deliberately sought to answer specific questions, noted the stratigraphy and contents of the mound, and then wrote of his findings, he is called Virginia's first archaeologist. The mound site has not been pinpointed, despite efforts by David I. Bushnell in 1911 (Bushnell 1914) and William Boyer in 1982 (Boyer 1983). We are challenged today to find the mound base with its encircling ditch and perhaps date any remains present.

Nineteenth-century explorers who recorded their work are few. Around 1812, William Pidgeon excavated stone mounds in the Shenandoah Valley and upper James River area (Pidgeon 1853). Lucian Carr, working out of Harvard Univer-

sity, trenched a Mississippian platform mound in Lee County, not far from Cumberland Gap (Carr 1877). A soapstone quarry in Amelia County was examined by Frank Hamilton Cushing of the Bureau of Ethnology about 1879. His work was later detailed in a study by William Henry Holmes, who tested a soapstone quarry in Fairfax County in the 1880s, studied a lithic workshop near Luray, and recorded quarry-workshops in other Virginia locales. Holmes's 1897 publication on lithics of the Chesapeake Bay drainage basin provides sound data for today's students. During the 1880s, Elmer R. Reynolds, an avocational archaeologist, recorded shell mounds along the Potomac River (Reynolds 1889). In 1891–1892, Gerard Fowke of the Bureau of Ethnology explored sites in the upper James and Potomac Valleys (Fowke 1894). Henry Chapman Mercer explored the New River area of southwest Virginia in 1894, seeking evidence of Early Man (Mercer 1894). Although he concluded that Early Man was not to be found in the region, he described, but did not recognize, an aceramic culture under ceramic bearing levels in a cave shelter. Later tests in the shelter found Early Archaic points at the deepest levels. Mercer had Early Man evidence but did not realize it.

Around 1900, members of the Valentine family in Richmond explored several mounds and village sites in western Virginia. Their collections formed the basis of the Valentine Museum created by the family and later given to the City of Richmond.

Although emphasis during the nineteenth century was placed on seeking information on (and relics of) prehistoric Indians, there were also studies on the ethnology (ethnohistory) of the Indians, done by James Mooney and John Garland Pollard. Mooney's 1894 study of eastern Siouan groups was for many years widely accepted, although recent works challenge some of his findings. Ethnological studies were continued in the first half of the twentieth century by Frank G. Speck (1928), several of his students, and David I. Bushnell (1930, 1935, 1940). Their reports are indispensable for today's ethnohistorians seeking to relate modern studies to the historical and archaeological record.

Parallel with nineteenth-century studies on Indians and their remains was the nascent study we today call historical archaeology. An example of this effort was the acquisition of Mount Vernon in 1852 by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association. Efforts to preserve the site of the original 1607 Jamestown led to the founding in 1889 of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Its subsequent efforts have preserved scores of additional houses and properties all over Virginia. Archaeology has been essential to the work of both groups.

During the first half of the twentieth century, professional archaeological attention in Virginia was largely absent. Seemingly, the published work of Holmes, Mooney, and Fowke, added to the narratives of Captain John Smith

and others, was seen as being all that could be said about Virginia Indians and their cultures. One exception was the long-term attention paid by David I. Bushnell, an affiliate of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to Virginia Indians, ethnohistory, and (to a limited extent) archaeology. Bushnell examined sites near Charlottesville, recorded sites in Bath County and elsewhere, and wrote extensively on many topics relating to Virginia Indians.

Most other archaeological efforts during the period 1900 to 1940 were by avocationalists. Around 1914, Captain Robert D. Wainright (U.S. Navy) explored Indian sites in southwest Virginia, including limited digging (Wainright 1914). Early in the 1930s, Judge William J. Graham of Washington began exploring sites along the lower Potomac River, with major excavations at the site of Patawomeck in Stafford County. When Graham died late in 1937, Dr. T. Dale Stewart, a physical anthropologist at the U.S. National Museum, took over and dug enough of the site to provide solid data on its layout and contents (Stewart 1992). During the 1930s Richard G. Slattery and Hugh V. Stabler found and tested many sites along the Potomac River and published their data in several journals (Slattery and Woodward 1992). Carl P. Manson and I in 1940 tested a Late Woodland village, the Keyser Farm site, in Page County. Ceramics from that site were classified by Dr. James B. Griffin (Manson et al. 1943). Karl Schmitt, a student who had worked with Dr. Stewart at Patawomeck in 1940, wrote his dissertation on the prehistory of the Middle Atlantic region, which was published by Griffin in his 1952 opus (Griffin 1952b). Schmitt was ahead of his time in recognizing relationships between sites, which enabled him to group them in what he termed "Foci," three of which were in Virginia. Most of his observations from the 1940s are still valid and useful.

Historical archaeology achieved professional recognition in the 1930s, based on the work of Jean C. Harrington for the National Park Service at Jamestown and at Wakefield, the birthplace of George Washington (Harrington 1952). Later work at Jamestown in the 1950s by John Cotter and others also contributed to the definition of this field (Cotter 1958). In the 1930s, too, a beginning was made in archaeological studies at Colonial Williamsburg, although the work there gained national recognition only after the 1957 arrival from England of Ivor Noël Hume, who set high standards for field and lab work and who led the way in popularizing historical archaeology (Noël Hume 1963, 1991). Work at Colonial Williamsburg now continues under the direction of Dr. Marley Brown.

In the late 1930s, Joffre L. Coe began his long-term Siouan studies by testing sites along the Roanoke River in Virginia and North Carolina. His 1964 publication produced major changes in the ways archaeologists looked at the region's prehistory. Coe demonstrated the value of stratigraphic studies in the region,

and his sequence of named projectile point types immediately became a main support for cultural frameworks created by others.

Responding to calls from local citizens, the Bureau of American Ethnology twice sent staff archaeologists to examine sites and collections in southwest Virginia. In 1940 Dr. Waldo Wedel examined sites and collections from unrecorded work in headwater valleys of the Tennessee River. Joseph R. Caldwell assisted in the Archeological Society of Virginia (ASV) examination of a vertical shaft burial cave in Tazewell County in the fall of 1947 (Wedel 1951).

The year 1940 saw the creation of the ASV by a group of collectors. In 1941 they joined the Eastern States Archeological Federation, issued a newsletter, and began surveys to find and record sites. From the start they were helped and encouraged by T. Dale Stewart, Matthew Stirling, J. C. Harrington, Joseph R. Caldwell, Waldo Wedel, Moreau B. C. Chambers, and Ripley P. Bullen. With this professional backing and the dedication of a few members, the Society evolved to become a major player in regional archaeology. In 1946 the Society began to issue its *Quarterly Bulletin*, continuing uninterrupted to the present, and in later years has issued more than thirty *Special Publications*.

One early leader in the ASV was Ben C. McCary, who initiated in 1947 an inventory of fluted point finds in Virginia, discovered several important Paleo-Indian sites, including the Williamson site (McCary et al. 1949), and wrote many articles on various aspects of Virginia archaeology. Another leader was Dr. C. G. Holland, a psychiatrist who had a strong interest in Virginia's archaeology. Around 1950 he and Clifford Evans (1955) surveyed prehistoric ceramics and lithics in Virginia, and in the early 1960s he did a long-term survey of sites in southwest Virginia (Holland 1970).

Two areas in Virginia to be flooded by dam construction were surveyed by Carl F. Miller for the Smithsonian Institution's River Basin Surveys. In 1947 he surveyed sites in the Roanoke River valley upstream from a proposed dam at Clarksville and in 1950 excavated the more important sites (Miller 1962). During 1962–1963, he surveyed sites in the valley of Staunton River behind the planned Smith Mountain dam. Miller's finds on this project currently await analysis and publication. Other dams constructed in Virginia rivers following World War II were built without first having an archaeological survey done. One was the South Holston Dam, built by the Tennessee Valley Authority in Tennessee, but just south of Abingdon, Virginia. In view of the TVA's earlier and later archaeological studies ahead of dam construction, one wonders how the South Holston Dam escaped such a survey. Another dam was built by the Appalachian Power Company on New River just south of Radford, where Claytor Lake now impounds several miles of that major river. One important site known to have been inundated there without study was that of Fort Frederick

of the French and Indian War period, along with the site of a 1750s community of Dunkards (United Brethren pioneers). During the 1960s, two other dams were built in Virginia without archaeological surveys: the Brasfield Dam, impounding the Appomattox River upstream from Petersburg, and the North Anna Dam, built by the Virginia Power Company to provide cooling water for a nuclear power plant on North Anna River in Louisa County.

Other studies by ASV members added to the database. In the Clarksville area, Judge John Tisdale rescued data from a site on his own land (Tisdale 1953). In addition, he organized a local chapter of the ASV to assist Carl Miller in his surveys and excavations at Clarksville. In Petersburg, Judge Charles Gilliam studied local Indian sites and history (Gilliam 1948).

The Later Years

Beginning in 1963, the Virginia State Library sponsored archaeological work as part of its mission of historical research. I was hired to begin the work, which I carried forward until 1976. Then a new agency was created in Virginia government to carry out various federal laws, such as the 1966 Historic Preservation Act and the 1969 Environmental Protection Act, and became active in archaeology. Although the state library sponsored much survey and rescue work and a few research-oriented excavations, no staff or budget were provided, and no laboratory facilities existed. Using my home as a base, I developed ASV's capability for doing fieldwork, relying on its members as a state-wide volunteer work force. Membership in the ASV increased from fewer than one hundred in 1962 to more than fourteen hundred by 1973, making it one of the largest and most active archaeological societies in the nation. On the more than 150 sites tested or excavated, workers were taught the essentials of excavating and recording, and some became proficient enough to undertake projects on their own initiative, usually with my approval and occasional help. Hundreds of sites were recorded, and extensive collections of artifacts were assembled with documentation.

Projects done by the ASV involved both historic and prehistoric sites. For two major projects the ASV hired recent graduates in archaeology as Project Archaeologists. In 1965–66, Gerald P. Smith directed work on the Hand site, a protohistoric village in Southampton County (Smith 1984), and in 1966 Joseph L. Benthall did rescue work at the Shannon site, a Late Woodland village near Blacksburg (Benthall 1969). In 1967 Benthall tested Daugherty Cave in Russell County, where he dated the Early Archaic level at B.C. 7840 ± 400 years (Benthall 1990). Both Smith and Benthall worked almost entirely with ASV volunteer help.

The ASV's work involved several philosophies. Data gathering took prece-

dence over all else because of the perceived need to fill gaps in our knowledge and to answer questions. Another policy was to publish data widely and promptly. A third policy involved public participation. Every excavation site was open to the public, whose questions were answered on site. Members of the public were permitted to help in the work (under close supervision), a move that brought many new members into the ASV. Visiting landowners often volunteered information on sites they could now recognize on their land, having seen what the evidence looked like.

In 1967 the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission was created to provide the setting for the State Historic Preservation Officer, with a subordinate Research Center for Historical Archaeology. The archaeological unit was activated in 1976, and its mission was expanded to cover all archaeology by the state. The Commission eventually evolved into the current Department of Historic Resources.

Archaeological activity by other agencies and individuals increased during the 1960s. John Griffin of the National Park Service did work at the Civil War surrender grounds at Appomattox and at a prehistoric site at the Peaks of Otter on Blue Ridge Parkway in Bedford County. Ethnohistorical studies continued with research by Lewis Binford (1967), Christian F. Feest (1978), and E. Randolph Turner (1976).

In the late 1960s a consortium of archaeologists in Washington, D.C., began a study of Potomac Valley prehistory. A major discovery led William M. Gardner of the Catholic University of America to excavate a Paleo-Indian quarry-workshop, the Thunderbird site, near Front Royal in the Shenandoah Valley (Gardner 1986). Several of Gardner's students who had their "baptism of fire" at Thunderbird have gone into professional archaeology. These include William P. Boyer, Jay Custer, Carole Nash, and Michael Stewart. Also in the late 1960s, Norman F. Barka joined the College of William and Mary and began a series of research projects in nearby areas. Later, several field school sessions were conducted at Flowerdew Hundred Plantation by Dr. James Deetz, who published an excellent report on the sequence of historic sites there (Deetz 1993).

One of the crew chiefs at Flowerdew Hundred, L. B. Gregory Jr., became an independent archaeologist. In 1975 he found a large multicomponent site, the Hatch site, in Prince George County on Powell's Creek, located a backer for his work, and under the aegis of ASV began a fifteen-year project there. He worked mainly with volunteers and recovered extensive data, now awaiting compilation and publication. Later Gregory worked at a historic plantation site in Surry County, Claremont Manor. There he also found a Paleo-Indian workshop and a Late Woodland period ceremonial burial site.

About 1974 Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond began teach-

ing archaeology. Under this program L. Daniel Mouer has done much work around Richmond, including a major survey in the Piedmont James River valley. In 1976 Clarence Geier joined James Madison University in Harrisonburg and almost immediately began archaeological work in the region. Also in 1976, at the College of William and Mary, Theodore R. Reinhart undertook work in the Williamsburg area, which included both historic and prehistoric sites. Helen C. Rountree of Old Dominion University in Norfolk has conducted a long-term study of the ethnohistory of Virginia Indians, resulting in four books, numerous articles, and news items in the public media (c.f. Rountree 1989a, 1989b, 1993; Rountree and Davidson 1997).

Other academic institutions with lesser programs in archaeology are the University of Virginia, Radford University, Washington and Lee University, Longwood College, and Mary Washington College. Most recently, Shenandoah University at Winchester has become active in historic studies and site preservation.

In northern Virginia, two local governments began in the mid-1970s to support full-time archaeological work. The City of Alexandria, where Pamela Cressey concentrates on data recovery in urban renewal projects, employs a small staff but relies heavily on citizen volunteers. In Fairfax County Michael E. Johnson has done intensive survey, testing, and rescue work. With a few full-time employees, augmented by members of the ASV, Johnson has recorded more than twenty-four hundred sites in the past twenty years. He has worked extensively at the Cactus Hill site in Sussex County, first opened and developed by avocational archaeologist Joseph McAvoy. Their research has revealed a cultural sequence from pre-Clovis through all Archaic periods and into the Early Woodland period (McAvoy and McAvoy 1997). Work on this site continues as of 2001.

Where Do We Stand Today?

As a result of the foregoing efforts, the growth in archaeological knowledge in Virginia has been spectacular. The accumulation of solid data statewide provides a sound foundation for defining discrete late prehistoric cultural phenomena. These can often be linked to named historic tribes, grouped into three language stocks, which were usually separated by depopulated buffer zones. With good archaeological data at hand, we no longer rely only on the ethnographic record to define and identify Indian remains across the state.

For the post-Columbian period, we now have much archaeological evidence complementing the historic record. We are alert to possible historic sites predating Jamestown, and we know more about the so-called Company period (1607–1625) of Virginia history. We trace the expansion of the colony by pin-

pointing locations of frontier forts and by tracing roads, ferry sites, and the boundaries of early land grants. Many industrial sites have been identified, such as ironworks, gristmills, shipyards, pottery works, and others. Military sites resulting from major wars are becoming better known, with resulting efforts to preserve them. The creation of state and national registers for recording important sites provides a focus for much current archaeological work. With these advances in knowledge, we can better define those areas that need to be researched.

Virginia has many agencies and people involved in archaeology. Leading is Virginia's Department of Historic Resources, the head of which is the State Historic Preservation Officer. On the staff is a State Archaeologist, curators for the collections, an archivist, a review-and-compliance team for monitoring federal laws governing site conservation and studies, a conservator with a modern lab, and four regional archaeologists who work closely with local governments. One productive activity of the Department is its Threatened Sites Program, which annually commits funds via contracts to save data from important sites that would otherwise be lost. The Department publishes some studies, issues a newsletter, and sponsors Archaeology Month in October, during which it coordinates statewide activities for public consumption.

In 1975 professional archaeologists in the state created the Council of Virginia Archaeologists to advise and help governments and others in archaeology. Ten universities and colleges have archaeological programs, usually created and led by a professor with a specific interest. Virginia's Department of Transportation has a staff of archaeologists who do surveys on planned projects. When follow-up work is needed, VDOT contracts with consulting archaeologists or environmental corporations.

Nonprofit organizations continue archaeological work as part of their larger mission. Highlighting historical archaeology in Virginia today is a ten-year project by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, under the direction of William M. Kelso (1999), to identify and interpret remains of the earliest settlements on Jamestown Island. Other work has been done in recent years at Monticello and Poplar Forest, two homes of Thomas Jefferson; at Stratford Hall, Robert E. Lee's birthplace; at Gunston Hall, home of George Mason; at Montpelier, home of James Madison; and at the Enchanted Castle site, home of an eighteenth-century governor named Spottswood and site of a 1716 frontier fort.

Much archaeological work in Virginia is done by contract archaeologists, and most is high-quality work that contributes to the growth of knowledge. On the other hand, contractors are confined to limited areas to work on, and this prevents their exploring leads extending outside project limits. Also, a contractor has to work within a tight budget and show a profit or go out of busi-

ness. These factors combine to make cultural resource management or contract archaeology a mixed blessing.

The active avocational group in the Commonwealth is the Archeological Society of Virginia. Its local chapters do surveys, test sites, rescue data from endangered sites, and help landowners protect sites once found and evaluated. The Society sponsors a training and certification program (with help from the Council of Virginia Archaeologists) to train workers among its members. With continuing professional guidance and help, ASV's contributions to knowledge will continue.

Although there is much archaeological work going on in the Commonwealth, some needed work is not being done. Virginia has more than three thousand recorded caves, many of which need archaeological studies, and we know many submerged terrestrial sites and sunken ships that await study. Only limited underwater explorations have taken place in Virginia. One large unmet need is for surveys to find sites before they become endangered. If preservation and research are to be effective, sites must first be found, tested, and prioritized, but these steps have largely been neglected. Other neglected aspects of archaeology are (1) thematic research to seek answers to specific questions; (2) interdisciplinary studies with geologists, paleontologists, pedologists, botanists, and zoologists; and (3) laboratory research using modern equipment and procedures.

Several official policies hamper archaeological research. One is an overzealous desire to "save" sites without testing them sufficiently to know *what* is being preserved. Another is a reluctance to encourage or help avocational archaeologists rescue data from endangered sites. Last, too many archaeologists decline to excavate unmarked graves even when there are no known descendants. In some recent projects, archaeologists did not open pits that they *suspected* to be graves, thus turning their backs on substantial data. These anti-excavation policies need to be reevaluated in the light of known research needs.

A Look Ahead

Given current trends, I see the outcome predicted by Charles McGimsey almost thirty years ago. He forecast that unless we do more to save archaeological resources, we will find it difficult to find intact sites by the end of the century (McGimsey 1972). That date has arrived. Important pristine sites are getting harder to find unless protected in publicly owned locales. Yet the list of questions for which we need answers is almost as long as it was in 1972, albeit modified and updated. This situation challenges us to greater efforts.

I see the almost complete loss of *prehistoric* sites, but we will still have many *historic* sites. With optimism, I predict increased funds for archaeology, greater

support from *local* governments, and more work by volunteers. Ways will be found to do archaeology at less cost. Power equipment will be used more, and remote sensing will be employed more effectively.

I see an active archaeological world receptive to new developments in science and technology, with information disseminated quickly through the Internet. Those will be exciting, challenging times, with archaeology changing in ways we do not imagine today. Finally, I see a future in which we will have answers to many questions we pose today. My vision of the future results from today's trends, laced with a strong element of wishful thinking. And there the matter rests!

12 North Carolina Archaeology in Historical Perspective

Bennie C. Keel

North Carolina Archaeology prior to 1933

Unlike the American Southwest, the Midwest, and the Southeast heartland, little archaeology was conducted in the Old North State during the nineteenth century. There were no Cliff Palace, Pueblo Bonito, Fort Ancient, Harness, and Hopewell works, no Cahokia, Moundville, Etowah, and Ocmulgee within its boundaries. Nonetheless, most of the archaeological research accomplished during this period was indeed at mound sites or cemeteries (Heye 1919; J. A. Holmes 1883; W. H. Holmes 1883; Spainhour 1873; Thomas 1887b:61–95, 1894:333–350; Valentine 1883). This work had little significance at the time or since. A single exception can be pointed out: Talcott Williams's excavations at Fort Raleigh in 1895 (Williams 1895). He undoubtedly uncovered evidence of the first attempted English settlement in North America. He did not find the Lost Colony. Its location continues to be a mystery. In addition, James Sprunt excavated at Russellborough at Brunswick Town in 1896 and reported finding “blue Dutch tiles” and “peculiarly shaped bottles” (Sprunt 1916).

The focus on exploring mounds continued into the first decades of this century. In 1910 Charles Peabody (1910) excavated a low sand mound on the lower southern piedmont near Fayetteville. Five years later, the Museum of the American Indian–Heye Foundation of New York City sent an expedition to the Garden Creek site where Valentine had excavated earlier. Heye (1919) excavated Mound 3, a Woodland period artifact, which apparently was quite similar to Mound 2 (Keel 1972:70–71). Disappointed at the lack of fine artifacts for his museum, his interest shifted to other areas.

In summary, during the period from circa 1870 to 1933 a few sites had been rudely excavated and poorly reported. No theoretical framework was available

to the researchers of those times to study or interpret their data. Techniques for defining and recording provenience were crude at best. Field notes documenting this work, or at least the ones seen by me, are practically useless. The most significant finding reached by these early mound explorations was the conclusion that the mounds in the eastern part of the state were quite different from those in the western part of the state (Holmes 1883:48).

The Only Game in Town: 1933–1960

During the period of 1933 to 1960, archaeology in the Old North State became a recognized professional activity. This was brought about by the efforts of a small number of professional people and a young man from Greensboro, Joffre Lanning Coe. His interest in archaeology began as a child. He once told me that he has no memory of not being interested in archaeology. He came on the scene as an aspiring archaeologist at the founding meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina in 1933. He was seventeen years old. His earliest documented archaeological activity occurred a year later at the Conestee site in Transylvania County while he was an undergraduate at Brevard College. By his own persistence, the support of some University of North Carolina faculty, the Director of the State Museum, and the economic conditions of the time, Coe was able to get in on the ground floor of North Carolina archaeology. He participated in the 1936 excavations at Keyauwee (sponsored by the Archaeological Society). In 1937 he received a grant from Eli Lilly to investigate the Eastern Siouans and directed a WPA-sponsored dig at the Frutchey Mound.

In 1940, the university hired Robert Wauchope in a faculty position to teach archaeology and oversee the archaeological research at Chapel Hill. Wauchope worked in North Carolina for only a short time before leaving for Tulane University. During his brief stay, he excavated more of the Wall site, where Coe had dug in 1938. This auspicious beginning of academic archaeology was interrupted by World War II.

After the war Coe, having gained a faculty appointment, returned to Chapel Hill and resumed his research. Concerned with the problems of developing a cultural chronology and dissatisfied with his earlier efforts to order surface collections and excavated materials into a valid sequence (Coe 1952), he began to look for stratified sites in the alluvial valleys of the piedmont. The success of this effort furnished the data for his dissertation at the University of Michigan (Coe 1960), a work subsequently published by the American Philosophical Society as “Formative Cultures of the Carolina Piedmont” (Coe 1964). For the most part, the sequence he developed has withstood the test of time. Although developed from stratified deposits along the Yadkin and Roanoke Rivers, the

sequence has proved to be useful over the entire Southeast. In 1949, he renewed the investigations interrupted by the war at the Frutchey Mound, which by this time had been acquired by the Department of Archives and History and renamed Town Creek Indian Mound. Coe directed Historic Sites Division archaeologists and some of his students at Town Creek for another thirty-five years (Coe 1995:18).

During this period archaeology moved from an avocational activity of perhaps a dozen people across the state to an established discipline at the state's flagship university and in the Department of Archives and History. Unfortunately, little was published about these activities—a few short notes in the Archaeological Society of North Carolina's publications (Coe 1934, 1937, 1949; Johnson 1934; Rights 1947) and a chapter by Coe in *Archaeology of Eastern United States* (Coe 1952). Academic output consisted of Coe's dissertation at the University of Michigan and master's theses at the University of North Carolina by Ernest Lewis (1951) and Stanley South (1959a). Until the latter part of this period the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill was virtually the only archaeology game in the state. It should be noted that historical archaeology began its climb to respectability during this time. Unlike UNC's Research Laboratories of Anthropology (RLA), historical archaeology had neither academic affiliation nor continuing institutional support until 1958, when Stanley South went to Brunswick Town. Previously, historical archaeology had been carried out on a project basis. In 1947 J. C. Harrington (1962, 1966) initiated investigations at Fort Raleigh, where research on the first English colony sporadically continues. During the 1950s, excavations took place at Old Salem, Somerset Place, Tryon Palace, and Fort Macon (Beaman 1999). Unfortunately, the results of these investigations were rarely published.

More Is Better: 1960–2000

With the 1960s, North Carolina archaeology experienced tremendous growth in terms of new programs and the number of archaeologists working in the state. Some of this growth was the natural extension of the state's growth in the field of higher education. The other stimulus was new and broader archaeological responsibilities of states and federal agencies mandated by a number of laws and regulations. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974, also known as the Moss-Bennett Act, brought about a quantum change in the way archaeology is conducted in the United States.

Archaeology, as part of anthropology curriculums, was established at East Carolina University with the arrival of David S. Phelps in 1970. He developed an enduring research program, which focuses on the northern coastal plain

and barrier islands. A few years later Gordon Watts would establish an underwater archaeology program at East Carolina University. J. Ned Woodall (1976, 1990) began a multiyear research effort in the middle Yadkin River valley in 1971 shortly after he joined the Wake Forest University faculty. Appalachian State College hired Burt Purrington and Harvard Ayers, who would conduct several seasons of work at the Ward and other sites in the area (Ayres et al. 1980; Purrington 1983). John Dorwin and Max White were getting started at Western Carolina College about this time. David McLean at St. Andrews College and Peter P. Cooper at Catawba College were conducting research in their respective local areas.

A fledgling archaeological program got its start at the University of North Carolina-Wilmington when one of Coe's students joined the faculty in the late 1970s. Tom Loftfield, as a graduate student, had worked the central coastal plain excavating stratigraphic units in several shell middens along the central coast for his dissertation project. He continued this line of investigation in the area until recently (Loftfield 1976; Loftfield and Jones 1995). A little later, archaeology appeared at the University of North Carolina-Charlotte, directed by Janet Levy. The Schiele Museum of Natural History in Gastonia and the Indian Museum of the Carolinas in Laurinburg also developed archaeology programs.

In 1973 the Office of State Archaeology was established by the Department of Cultural Resources (earlier known as the Department of Archives and History). It was to fulfill two needs: first, to handle compliance review for Section 106 and other requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act and, second, to create an in-house capability to conduct both prehistoric and historic archaeology at sites owned by the Department. The Department had earlier established an underwater archaeology program in the 1960s to deal with the wreck of the *Modern Greece* at Fort Fisher. Archaeological programs would also be established in the North Carolina Department of Transportation, in the U.S. Forest Service, and by the U.S. Army at Fort Bragg.

This unparalleled growth of the discipline created a variety of problems in the state. Most of these involved personality conflicts, although some were based on objective professional concerns. There were petty jealousies, questions of competence and commitment, and concerns regarding the institutional backing of the newer programs within the academic community and state government.

In 1961 only the RLA and the Historic Sites Division of the Department of Archives and History had archaeological programs and together employed only three professionals. Today there are at least seventy-five resident archaeologists in the state. They are employed in twenty-eight organizations comprising ten academic institutions, two state programs, two federal programs, and at least fourteen resident private firms or individuals doing archaeological busi-

ness in the state (North Carolina Archaeological Council 1999). Each of them has provided some measure of understanding of the buried past. In addition there are about sixty-one other firms or individuals listed with the Office of State Archaeology (1999) as meeting the qualification standards to do archaeological research in the state. Undoubtedly the funds that go into archaeological activities conducted in the state amount to a small fortune today.

I would like to treat the programs at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, East Carolina University, and the Department of Cultural Resources in more detail because they are the oldest programs and, as such, have contributed more to the state's archaeology.

The Research Laboratories of Anthropology (recently renamed The Research Laboratories of Archaeology) at UNC-Chapel Hill is the oldest archaeological research organization in the state. Work conducted under its banner during Coe's directorship provided a cultural sequence based on data recovered from stratified deposits (Coe 1960, 1964). The development of this sequence beginning with the Paleo-Indian period and ending at the historic contact period is important not only for North Carolina but also for the greater Southeast.

Interpretations of the data excavated by Coe and Wauchope relating to the Eastern Siouan problem, although flawed (Ward and Davis 1999:234), would stimulate a renewed attack on the problem in the 1970, 1980s, and 1990s. A half-century of investigations directed by Coe (1995) at Town Creek has provided one of the clearer examples of a Mississippian ceremonial center. During the 1960s and 1970s the laboratories conducted the Cherokee project in the western mountains of the state. Treatments of the data by Dickens (1972) and Keel (1972) were considered the standard sources of information on this topic for a quarter century. Only recently have their interpretations of the Pisgah culture been questioned (Ward and Davis 1999:180). This is good.

The RLA also conducted a number of reservoir salvage projects during this period. Other than Coe's (1960, 1964) and South's (1959a) treatment of the Gaston site on the Roanoke River, the results of this work have not been adequately reported. Research Laboratories successfully carried out a variety of smaller projects such as the excavation of nineteenth-century student housing on the main campus of the university (Jones et al. 1998) and a number of CRM projects. Its crews have studied the fields of conflict for the nation's independence at Guilford Courthouse (Coe and Ward 1973). They have spent countless unrewarding hours sifting through cubic yards of pothunter back dirt in an unsuccessful search for undisturbed deposits at the Hardaway site (Daniel 1998; Ward, personal communication 1999). The publication record of the RLA has greatly improved since 1984.

The Phelps Laboratory of Archaeology at East Carolina University is the second oldest academically affiliated research center in the state. It was founded

by David Sutton Phelps when he joined the faculty at East Carolina University in 1970. It has grown considerably in size, both in facilities and in personnel as well as in program interests. Phelps received his initial training in archaeology from Coe at UNC, and his doctoral program at Tulane University was directed by Robert Wauchope. The initial research focus of Phelps's program was to define the prehistory of the northern coastal plain and Outer Banks regions. William Haag (1958) had attacked this problem with some success by developing a general ceramic chronology from his work for the Office of Naval Research. Unfortunately, the Navy decided that archaeology was not an appropriate undertaking for a national defense agency and cut off funding. Stanley South (1976) developed a ceramic sequence for the southern coast and coastal plain based on surface surveys he conducted at the Brunswick Town State Historic Site in the late 1950s and early 1960s. By the mid-1980s Phelps (1983, 1984) was in a position to offer a much clearer picture of the prehistory of his more northern research area. He had refined the chronological sequence and defined several new phases. His subsequent research efforts focused on the interaction between late prehistoric tribes of the coastal plain and Outer Banks, the Iroquois-speaking Tuscarora, and the early European contact period. The Phelps Laboratory also developed an active program in cultural resource management. Charles Ewen, the current director, continues the tradition of coastal plain research.

By the mid-1970s the Office of State Archaeology was up and running. As noted earlier the thrust of this program was to fulfill CRM responsibilities of the State Historic Preservation Officer and to carry out research of interest to the Department of Cultural Resources. The office has continued to undertake excavations at a number of historic sites. Mark Mathis (1990, 1997), responsible for the eastern part of the state, has run several projects that have improved and added refinement to the understanding of coastal plain archaeology. Billy Oliver (1992), responsible for the Piedmont, has conducted research in the area surrounding the Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site focusing on the Pee Dee culture. David Moore, responsible for the western part of the state, has continued to excavate at the Warren Wilson site, which has presented us with a more refined view of Pisgah culture (Moore, personal communication 1999).

Notes And Comments

My perspective on the development of archaeology in North Carolina is biased, I must confess. It is rooted in a twelve-year association with Joffre Coe and my having spent the past quarter century in upper-level archaeological positions in the National Park Service.

Between 1961 and 1963 I worked under Coe's supervision as the archaeolo-

gist at Town Creek Indian Mound and from 1963 to 1973 as the Senior Archaeologist at the Research Laboratories of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. The fact that I received my professional training from Charles H. Fairbanks and David L. DeJarnette rather than from the “Master, himself” colored my career at North Carolina more than I realized at the time.

I was extremely lucky to have been offered the chance to do archaeology for a living in the late 1960s. This was in the time before the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and the Moss-Bennett Act of 1974 were enacted. Other than the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960, there was no federal or state mandate to do archaeological investigations other than those of specific institutions that had made archaeology part of their mission. The budgetary process of the parent organizations supported these mandates parsimoniously, I might add.

In the early 1960s for example, the RLA existed on a small budget line item in the graduate school. This budget supported a secretary, a small portion of Coe’s salary, a junior archaeologist, and one or two graduate students and paid for postage, telephone, supplies, and the operation of one old green Dodge pickup. Over the years, Coe was able to pick up small amounts of money from various power companies, the National Park Service, and private foundations to augment his base. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, and Sam Tarleton, Chief of the Historic Sites Division, were able to obtain funds from the legislature to pay for some archaeology at Brunswick Town and Town Creek State Historic Sites. The division was also able to support South to do very minor investigations at some of the other historic sites. In 1961 the budget for Town Creek was \$11,776, which included my annual salary of \$5,500. The Brunswick Town budget was slightly more but not over \$15,000. RLA’s operating budget was about \$10,000. Coe also had a small grant from Virginia Electric Power Company for salvage work in the Roanoke Rapids Reservoir. Less than fifty thousand dollars was spent on archaeological concerns in the state that year. Things have changed substantially since then.

In my view the archaeological research programs established in the 1970s and 1980s at other academic institutions have contributed significantly but in limited form to the archaeology of the state. Joffre Coe was for the most part suspicious of these developments. He believed that the proliferation of programs was a temporary thing. He thought that most would disappear due to a lack of institutional support and that the federal mandates such as those of the Great Depression that were responsible for so much Southeastern archaeology would fade away. Relationships between Coe and the “newly arrived interlopers” were strained or nonexistent. Coe felt, I believe, that the new people and programs were encroaching on his domain. He was especially chagrined by the

creation of the Archaeology Branch, which would later become the Office of State Archaeology. After having such a long and fruitful relationship with Archives and History, I think he felt betrayed. Fortunately, over the last decade or so of his life, his relationship with that office improved tremendously.

Serendipitously, I was to kick off the second round of Siouan research in January 1972 when Keith Egloff and I came across a young man looting a historic period burial at Upper Saura Town (31SK1). The following summer I returned with a small crew for several weeks of fieldwork. Keith Egloff, Jefferson Chapman, the late Patricia Cridlebaugh, Jeanette Rundquist, and R. P. Stephen Davis were members of the group. In 1973 I directed the first six weeks of the second season's investigation prior to joining the faculty at Wright State University. Work continued at 31SK1 until 1981. I urged my good friend, Roy Dickens, to pursue this work on a broader scale when he was appointed the third director of the Research Laboratories in 1984. Ultimately, more than twenty years was spent on this problem. Although Dickens did not live to see the fruition of his efforts, H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Stephen Davis (Ward and Davis 1993) continued this research most admirably. This work has vastly increased our knowledge of the late prehistoric period, particularly of the Woodland epoch. It has also contributed significant new data on the conditions of the northern piedmont tribes at the time of sustained European contact.

It is unfortunate that at the time of major dam construction in North Carolina the present federal requirements for adequate mitigation of the impact did not exist. Consequently, the salvage of archaeological data in the Wilksboro Reservoir on the upper Yadkin, Roanoke Rapids and Gaston Reservoirs on the Roanoke, and Cowan's Ford on the Catawba was done for a pittance, probably somewhat under \$50,000. By contrast, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers contracted for archaeological investigations in a single small piedmont reservoir, B. Everett Jordan Lake, for at least ten times that amount. There is no telling how much more could have been learned under the current requirements.

As has been observed, I have spent the past quarter century in the National Park Service. For a comprehensive and more timely treatment of North Carolina archaeology, readers should consult *Time before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina* (Ward and Davis 1999) and *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An Archaeological Symposium* (Mathis and Crow 1983). Internet users can find additional information at <http://www.arch.dcr.state.nc.us.htm>.

In conclusion, it is safe to say that tremendous strides have been made in North Carolina archaeology during the latter half of the twentieth century. There are numerous institutions and individuals spread across the state that have the ability and expertise to investigate the buried past. A suite of federal and state laws provide protection for archaeological sites, which was un-

dreamed of fifty years ago. With hope, our knowledge will continue to advance at an even greater rate.

Notes

I appreciate the critical comments of George Smith, Tom Beaman, Traywick Ward, and Paul Gleeson on a draft of this paper. Nonetheless, errors of commission and omission are my fault.

13 A History of Archaeological Research in South Carolina

David G. Anderson

Until the last third of the twentieth century, little systematic archaeological research was conducted in South Carolina. Unlike many southern states, where professional archaeologists have been at work for upward of fifty years, the founding of modern archaeology in South Carolina dates to the 1960s. At the 1970 meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference in Columbia, a symposium was held on changes in archaeological knowledge across the Southeast since the founding of SEAC in 1938. Great advances were noted in almost every state, but Fairbanks (1971:42) observed that “South Carolina for long was more interested in ancestors than in artifacts and [as a result] not too much information is readily available,” and that basic descriptive and chronological data was lacking for much of the state.

Fortunately, from 1970 to 1999 a tremendous amount of research occurred in South Carolina, and it is probably safe to say we have as good a handle on the local prehistoric, historic, and underwater archaeological record as any other southern state. A few simple measures illustrate how far we have come. In 1960, the state site files encompassed some two hundred locations recorded at the Charleston Museum. In 1970, some five hundred sites were formally recorded in the state site files at the then–newly formed South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA) (Stephenson 1971). By 1990 the total had grown to fifteen thousand, and as of January 2000 just over twenty-one thousand sites had been recorded (Figure 13.1).

The quantity of research and reporting has grown at a corresponding explosive rate. A comprehensive bibliography of South Carolina archaeology published in 1970 contained less than 140 entries (Thompson 1970). In 1990, that total had risen to more than thirty-seven hundred (Derting et al. 1991:ix), and from 1990 to 1999 more than fifteen hundred new manuscripts, reports,

and documents were produced (Keith Derting, personal communication 2001). South Carolina's archaeological literature and site files have thus grown more than fortyfold since 1970, highlighting the pace of work being undertaken. It has thus been possible for some of us literally to live and work through the entire modern era of archaeological research in the state, a span that in some ways has encompassed Willey and Sabloff's (1974) Descriptive, Classificatory-Historical, and Explanatory periods or stages of American archaeological research simultaneously.

A modest amount of archaeological research did occur in South Carolina in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although much of this early work is in difficult-to-obtain sources. Two reviews prepared in the mid-1970s summarize this early period (Anderson 1977; Stephenson 1975), and the dramatic changes in South Carolina archaeology in recent years are examined in the 1989 festschrift volume dedicated to Dr. Robert L. Stephenson (Goodyear and Hanson 1989) and in the twenty-fifth anniversary issue of *South Carolina Antiquities*, the journal of the Archaeological Society of South Carolina (ASSC), published in 1993 (Sassaman and Steen 1993).

Hints of a Remote Past: Investigations from 1848 to 1963

Blanding, Schoolcraft, and Jones: Nineteenth-Century Recording of Local Remains

Although archaeological remains are described by early travelers, such as Bartram (1928:258–259) in his visit to Silver Bluff along the Savannah River in 1776 (Anderson 1994:337, 355–357; Waring 1968d:258–288), detailed description of archaeological remains in South Carolina dates to 1848. In that year Dr. William Blanding's note on the "Remains of the Wateree River, Kershaw District, South Carolina" was published (Squier and Davis 1848). Blanding reported the locations of rich surface artifact scatters in addition to discussing mounds at sites we now know were associated with the chiefdom of Cofitachequi (DePratter 1989).

In the 1850s, Henry Schoolcraft (1851–1857) reported at some length on Indian remains from South Carolina. One local informant noted, "I have many hundred arrow and spear heads, and many more are in the possession of others" (Howe 1857:159), indicating a long history of collecting in the area.

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Charles C. Jones wrote highly accurate accounts of local archaeological remains, including a lengthy description of the Mason's Plantation mound group below Augusta, one of the largest Mississippian sites on the Savannah River (Jones 1873:148–157; see also Anderson 1994:193–194, 338–343). These mounds had eroded away by the time

Clarence B. Moore visited the area in the late 1890s, prompting him to observe that “the archaeological examination of the Savannah River has been too long deferred” (Moore 1898a:168).

During the last decade of the nineteenth century the investigations of three men—Henry L. Reynolds (in Thomas 1894:326–327), Clarence B. Moore (1898a, 1898b), and William H. Holmes (1903)—produced a published record about archaeological remains in the South Carolina area that was unrivaled until the 1920s. Reynolds and Moore excavated various sites in the Coastal Plain, while Holmes made extensive use of their data in discussions of ceramics from the general region.

Reynolds, Moore, and Holmes: Systematic Fieldwork and Analysis Comes to South Carolina

In 1891, Henry Reynolds, whose work at the Hollywood Mounds near Augusta was of unparalleled accuracy for its time (Anderson 1994:189–193; 343–354; Waring 1968d:293), began work on the Mulberry Mounds near Camden. Unfortunately, he became ill and died while in the field, and only a brief description of his work appeared in the famous *Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Thomas 1894:326–327). Reynolds’s premature death left South Carolina’s mounds largely unexplored, which is regrettable because his skill and reporting ability (Powell 1894:xxvii) almost certainly would have yielded valuable data from sites since lost to agricultural or industrial development or thoughtless plundering.

Reynolds’s lead was followed at the end of the 1890s by Clarence B. Moore, who traveled along the South Carolina coast as far as Charleston Harbor and then up the Savannah River conducting excavations at promising locations. Moore’s research was oriented toward acquiring artifacts, and he was described by Waring (1968d:294) as “not interested in archaeological problems . . . so much as in the fun of digging mounds.” Nevertheless, Moore responsibly wrote up his work in a timely fashion, and although his reporting was far less detailed than modern archaeologists prefer, it was on a par with the professional work of the time. Moore (1898b:166) was not enthusiastic about the area’s archaeological potential, noting that “on the whole it would seem probable the South Carolina coast has little to offer from an archaeological viewpoint.” He found so little in his work along the Savannah River, in fact, that he noted, “Therefore we did not pursue our usual custom, totally to demolish each mound discovered, as we had done, as a rule, in Florida and on the Georgia coast” (Moore 1898a:167). This is perhaps fortunate because many of the sites he visited are still largely intact and can be explored using modern methods.

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, William Henry Holmes of the Bureau

of Ethnology examined the artifacts recovered from the excavations of the Mound Division as well as materials recovered by Moore and others. The culmination of this work appeared in 1903 as the 20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology under the title *Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States* (Holmes 1903). In this volume, Holmes (1903:130–133) proposed the existence of a distinctive South Appalachian carved paddle stamped ceramic tradition, an observation that has been widely adopted and is used to this day (e.g. Anderson 1998:775–776; Ferguson 1971; Griffin 1967).

The Early Twentieth Century: Origins of the First Local Collections

During the first half of the twentieth century little professional archaeology was undertaken in South Carolina, particularly when compared with what went on in neighboring states such as Georgia and North Carolina. The Charleston Museum played a paramount role in preserving the information we now have on research conducted during the early twentieth century. The Museum served as a repository for artifacts and site records and, under the leadership of capable directors and associates such as Anne King Gregorie (1925) and Laura Bragg (1918), actively sought out archaeological remains. It was at this time that the first archaeological site files were established.

In the early 1920s, excavations were conducted by Major George Osterhout (1923) at what was believed at the time, and has since turned out to be, the site of Ribault's 1562 French Charlesfort, as well as Spanish Santa Elena (South 1993b). Santa Elena served as the capital of Spanish Florida from 1566 to 1587, when it was permanently abandoned, and over the time it was occupied at least two forts were built. As Stanley South (1993b:52–55) recounts, the probable existence of fortifications in the immediate area of Santa Elena had been known since at least the middle of the nineteenth century, and the site had been briefly explored at least three times prior to Osterhout's excavations by local residents. Since the late 1970s, a research team led by South and Chester DePratter has been conducting research at Santa Elena, work that has been revolutionizing our understanding of Spanish settlement in the region. Also in the early 1920s, a young schoolboy named Robert Wauchope bicycled about the Columbia area gathering artifacts, including fluted points that seem to have come from the Taylor site in Lexington County (Wauchope 1939).

In 1929 the Stallings Island site near Augusta, Georgia, was excavated (Claflin 1931), sparking some interest in shell midden archaeology in the South Carolina area. Extensive excavations occurred soon after at the Chester Field shell ring in Beaufort County in 1933 under the direction of Warren K. Moorehead. Moorehead died before a final report could be prepared, although about a decade later a brief summary of the fieldwork appeared, written by Regina Flan-

nery (1943), a student assistant during the excavations, together with an analysis of some of the ceramics by James B. Griffin (1943a), whose paper contained the first detailed description of Stallings fiber-tempered pottery.

Missed Opportunities: The New Deal in South Carolina

Archaeological investigations in the Southeast were revitalized during the 1930s and early 1940s by the New Deal relief programs (Lyon 1996; Stoltman 1973). Unfortunately, no WPA-sponsored fieldwork took place in South Carolina. No one locally seems to have had the interest or ability to develop a relief program directed to archaeological research, and in this regard South Carolina is unfortunately unique among southeastern states, most of which witnessed massive excavation programs. The reason is due in part to the absence of professional archaeologists in the state, who might otherwise have led such an effort. Opportunities were there—dams were constructed along the Santee and Cooper Rivers in the late 1930s and early 1940s, creating Lakes Marion and Moultrie, causing incalculable destruction to local archaeological and historic resources—but leadership was lacking.

A substantial amount of work did occur in immediately adjacent portions of Georgia and North Carolina, however, some of which has proven quite important to understanding South Carolina's archaeological record. In Georgia, work near Savannah yielded a cultural sequence for the ceramic prehistoric era that has remained largely unmodified to this day (Caldwell and Waring 1939; DePratter 1979, 1991; Waring 1968e), and that has been called "one of the finest local sequences based on stratigraphic evidence that exists in Southeastern archaeology" (Williams 1968:101). Likewise in North Carolina, work at sites such as Town Creek and Peachtree Mound (Coe 1995; Setzler and Jennings 1941) helped establish cultural sequences in that state.

The World War II Era to the Early 1960s

With the inception of World War II, New Deal archaeology quickly ground to a halt, as did most research throughout the region. After the war, archaeologists resumed activities in most southern states, usually within university or museum settings. Unfortunately, this did not happen in South Carolina, and for the next two decades the only investigations were those by researchers based elsewhere.

The New Deal did have one important legacy for South Carolina. One of the many archaeologists involved in the work near Savannah, Antonio J. Waring, at the time a medical student with a strong interest in archaeology, returned from the war to live and practice in Savannah. In 1947 Waring (1968f) conducted a series of test excavations at the Refuge site in Jasper County, South

Carolina, revealing the presence of an intermediate culture between Stallings and Deptford, and in 1961 he described several fluted points from the Beaufort area (Waring 1961). Unfortunately, in 1964 Waring died of cancer at age forty-nine, a great loss to local archaeology. Stephen Williams performed a major service by collecting and editing his papers, which were released in 1968. This volume remains an indispensable reference for anyone wishing to practice prehistoric archaeology in the South Carolina area.

From 1948 through 1951, Carl Miller and Joseph Caldwell conducted survey and testing work along the upper Savannah in the proposed Clark Hill Reservoir. Other than a few brief papers, though, the work was not reported until the 1990s, when Dan Elliott (1995) produced a synthetic monograph using the project notes and collections. In the summer of 1952, Joseph Caldwell and A. R. Kelly conducted extensive excavations at the Mulberry Mound near Camden. The main mound was profiled, and a large block unit was opened in a nearby village area. The results of this fieldwork were reported in 1974 in a series of papers assembled by Leland G. Ferguson (1974). One of the 1952 crew members, George Stuart (1970, 1975), eventually based his master's and doctoral research on materials from the Camden area, describing local sites and the late prehistoric cultural sequence. In 1952, Caldwell published the first synthesis of South Carolina prehistory in the "Green Bible" (Griffin 1952b). Caldwell's paper indicates how far we have come in the intervening half-century. Little was then known about the Paleo-Indian and Archaic periods, and even the local prehistoric ceramic sequence was unknown away from the Savannah area. From November 1952 to February 1953, a single-person reconnaissance survey was conducted in the then-proposed Hartwell Reservoir area on the upper Savannah River (Caldwell 1974a), the recommendations that ultimately led to large-scale excavations at the Chauga Mound site in Oconee County in 1958 (Kelly and Neitzel 1961).

The Modern Era: 1963 to the Present

The Emergence of Local Institutions and Support

In the 1960s, the bleak picture that had characterized South Carolina archaeology began to change. The first state archaeologist was hired in 1963, Dr. William E. Edwards, whose lasting contribution was shepherding an act through the legislature in 1963 creating the South Carolina Department of Archaeology as a separate state agency (Michie 1993:8–9; Stephenson 1975:51–52). Four individuals have held the position of South Carolina State Archaeologist: William Edwards (1963–1968), Robert L. Stephenson (1968–1984), Bruce E. Rippeteau

(1984–2000), and Jonathan M. Leader (2000–present). Under Edwards’s tenure, various field projects were conducted, including a large field program in the proposed Keowee-Toxoway Reservoir (Beuschel 1976).

In 1967, SCIAA was established at the University of South Carolina, replacing the Department of Archaeology and placing the organization within the university system. From 1968 on, under the direction of Dr. Robert L. Stephenson, SCIAA began a statewide archaeological survey program and established formal site files and a curation facility for local collections and records. This had a tremendous impact on research in the state by providing a repository for information gathered during cultural resource management projects. These began to occur in ever greater numbers in the early 1970s as a result of the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 and the National Environmental Policy Act in 1971. By the mid-1970s, a great deal of archaeological fieldwork that was directly mandated by these laws was occurring across the state. The process was routinized by the establishment of a State Historic Preservation Officer, the Director of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, who soon hired staff archaeologists to handle the project review workload.

Also in the 1960s, two local residents, Eugene Waddell and James L. Michie, developed an interest in archaeology and began conducting research on a professional level. While a student at the College of Charleston in the early 1960s, Waddell worked at the Charleston Museum, where he reorganized and updated the collections and site files, which provide an invaluable record of coastal South Carolina archaeology. Most important, Waddell (1963, 1965a, 1965b) produced three technical papers delimiting the distributions of Thom’s Creek and Awendaw pottery, and all of the then-known fluted points in the state. His work marked the first rigorous artifact distributional studies locally and has guided many subsequent efforts (e.g., Anderson 1975; Goodyear et al. 1990; Michie 1976; Sassaman and Anderson 1994; Trinkley 1980a).

By the mid-1960s, James L. Michie of Columbia also began publishing articles centering around the description of early projectile point and flaked stone tool forms, such as the Taylor, Brier Creek Lanceolate, and Broad River point types; the Edgefield scraper; and local variants of Dalton points (e.g., Michie 1966, 1967, 1968a, 1968b, 1969a). An architectural draftsman, Michie went on to complete undergraduate and master’s degrees in anthropology and became one of the state’s most distinguished archaeologists in the 1980s and 1990s. He is perhaps best known for his formative role in founding, with Robert L. Stephenson, the Archaeological Society of South Carolina (ASSC) in 1968 (Michie 1993). The society has published a scholarly journal, *South Carolina Antiquities*, for some thirty years now and, since 1975, with SCIAA, has

sponsored the Annual Conference on South Carolina Archaeology. Major society excavation projects have been conducted at the Taylor, Thom's Creek, Cal Smoak, Manning, and Allan Mack sites, and ASSC members have assisted at numerous other excavations in South Carolina. The teaching of anthropology also began to receive increased attention at schools around the state. The number of anthropologists assigned to the faculty of the University of South Carolina rose rapidly in the early 1970s, and field schools in archaeology began to be held on a regular basis, including for many years at the Mulberry Mound site near Camden (Cable et al. 2000).

Research Directions in Modern South Carolina Archaeology

Much of the fieldwork that has occurred over the past thirty years has been driven by environmental legislation. The greatest amount of systematic work has occurred on federally owned lands, and large portions of the national forests, military bases, and the Department of Energy's Savannah River site have been surveyed. This is particularly evident when archaeological site locations in South Carolina are examined (Figure 13.1).

Large-scale excavation projects have occurred at various sites and areas. Interest in shell midden archaeology was rekindled as increasing numbers of radiocarbon dates indicated an unexpected early age for fiber-tempered wares. In the 1960s, two graduate students from Harvard, James B. Stoltzman (1974) and Drexel Peterson (1971), conducted survey and excavation programs on Groton Plantation along the lower Savannah River in Allendale County. Stoltzman's (1966) work at the Rabbit Mount shell midden produced extremely early dates for fiber-tempered ceramics, at about 2500 B.C. uncalibrated.

Stanley South was hired by SCIAA in 1969, and one of his first projects was at Charles Towne Landing in anticipation of the three hundredth anniversary of English settlement in 1970. He exposed and mapped a late prehistoric ceremonial center (South 1971). Also in 1969, excavations at the Thom's Creek site by Michie (1969b) provided the first local test of Coe's (1964) Archaic projectile point sequence. Michie's (1971, 1996) work the following year on the Palmer and Dalton components at the Taylor site stands as one of the first large-scale excavations at a Paleo-Indian site in the Southeast. Both South and Michie used heavy equipment to expose large areas to great advantage, procedures that many contemporary researchers now follow when sites are threatened.

In 1971 and 1972, ASSC members Sammy Lee and Bob Parler conducted excavations at the Cal Smoak site along the Edisto River, work reported in the society's first Occasional Paper (Anderson et al. 1979). In 1972 Don Sutherland (1974) began excavations at the Spanish Mount shell midden, and Michael Trinkley, one of his students, undoubtedly received some of the inspiration

that has led him in the years since to improve markedly our understanding of Late Archaic settlement, chronology, and ceramic typology (e.g., Trinkley 1976, 1980a, 1980b, 1986).

In 1972 and 1973, Leland Ferguson (1975) conducted extensive excavations of Revolutionary War-period Fort Watson, which he found in a remarkable state of preservation atop a temple mound along the Santee River. Ferguson, whose 1971 dissertation was a major synthesis of South Appalachian Mississippian archaeology, went to the site to examine the prehistoric remains. His interest in historic sites archaeology was kindled by what he found, however, shaping the direction of much of his subsequent career.

In 1974 an intensive program of archaeological investigations was launched by SCIAA and the ASSC across the river from Columbia along Congaree Creek, work prompted by plans to build the I-77 Beltway. Several proposed highway corridors were surveyed, and various sites were intensively examined (e.g., Anderson 1974, 1979; Anderson et al. 1974; Goodyear 1975; Wogaman et al. 1976). Also in 1974, I conducted a distributional study of Coastal Plain ceramics using collections from more than three hundred sites, revealing distributional patterns that have held up more or less intact to this day (Anderson 1975).

In 1975 John House joined the highway archaeology program at SCIAA, which had been established under the direction of Albert C. Goodyear in 1974 and where it was housed until the agency developed its own program in the late 1970s. House's work on the I-77 survey and the resulting Windy Ridge mitigation helped improve our understanding of Piedmont archaeology dramatically (House and Ballenger 1976; House and Wogaman 1978). During this same period, Goodyear, with House and Neal Ackerly (1979), was working on the Laurens-Anderson highway corridor survey, leading to another major overview of Piedmont archaeology. During the same period Ken Lewis was developing his frontier model of colonial settlement based on work in the Camden area (Lewis 1976).

In 1976 Jim Michie completed his senior honors' thesis on Paleo-Indian occupations in South Carolina, which included an analysis of fluted point finds that he had been systematically recording for more than a decade. The fluted point survey has continued thanks to the efforts of Michie, Goodyear, and particularly Tommy Charles, and several hundred early points are now known from the state (Goodyear et al. 1990).

In 1979 extensive work was conducted along the lower Santee River in conjunction with the construction of the Cooper River Rediversion Canal, whose impact zone was surveyed in the early 1970s by Bob Asreen (1974) and myself and later by Paul Brockington (1980). At the Mattassee Lake sites, orthoquartzite quarrying behavior was examined, and a detailed Woodland ceramic sequence was proposed, supported by more than a dozen radiocarbon dates

(Anderson et al. 1982). Excavations at nearby sites directed by Mark Brooks and Val Canouts (1984) found evidence for several Woodland and Mississippian structures.

The late 1970s saw the initiation of a collector survey by Tommy Charles (1986), work that has been of tremendous value to subsequent researchers. Besides markedly expanding the state's fluted point inventory, Charles collected primary typological and raw material data on more than eighty-five thousand points. These data have since been used to examine research topics as diverse as models of early Archaic settlement, changing raw materials selection strategies, the reduction in hunter-gatherer annual ranges during the Archaic, and the operation of buffer zones during the Mississippian period (e.g. Anderson and Hanson 1988; Sassaman and Anderson 1994; Sassaman et al. 1988).

In the late 1970s, Chester DePratter's (1979, 1991) refinement of the mouth-of-the-Savannah ceramic sequence was published; it is still used, with minor refinement, to classify artifacts and date sites in the southern coastal region. About the same time Michie's (1979) report on the excavations at the Late Archaic Bass Pond site on Kiawah Island appeared, which included a synthesis of his views on coastal settlement. In 1979 and 1980, thanks to a great deal of hard work and not a little personal financial support by Wayne Neighbors, two major ASSC publications also appeared, the Cal Smoak site report and the *First Ten Years of South Carolina Antiquities* (Neighbors 1980). Anyone who wants a feel for what research was like in the late 1960s and early 1970s in South Carolina, when the archaeological record was slowly coming into focus, should read these volumes. Also in 1980, Michael Trinkley's doctoral dissertation on prehistoric occupations along the central South Carolina coast appeared, and the same year his detailed analysis and typology for Thom's Creek ceramics was published (Trinkley 1980a, 1980b).

During the late 1970s, extensive survey and testing began in the proposed Richard B. Russell Reservoir along the upper Savannah River, and from 1980 to 1982 large-scale excavations were conducted at various sites (Anderson and Joseph 1988; Kane and Keaton 1993, 1994). Also in the 1970s, permanent archaeological compliance programs were initiated on the Sumter and Francis Marion National Forests and on the Department of Energy's Savannah River Plant (SRS) (e.g., Anderson and Logan 1981; Sassaman et al. 1990). The late 1970s also saw the beginnings of the Department of Anthropology's long-term research program at the Mulberry Mound site near Camden, work that has led to several technical papers and student theses through the years (summarized in Cable et al. 2000).

In the early 1980s, Ken Sassaman's (1983) master's thesis appeared from the Department of Anthropology at the University of South Carolina. In it he challenged traditional notions of the Middle Archaic as a period of increasing

sedentism locally, beginning a long involvement with prehistoric research, as recounted in many papers and reports (e.g., Sassaman 1983, 1985, 1989, 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1995). Also in 1983, the annual meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference was again held in Columbia, and papers from a symposium devoted to the archaeology of South Carolina were used to create a festschrift in honor of Dr. Robert L. Stephenson (Goodyear and Hanson 1989). This volume remains a major source of information on historic and prehistoric archaeology in the state.

In the mid-1980s, Al Goodyear and Tommy Charles (1984) began a long-term research program centered on the major chert outcrops in Allendale County, work that has done much to refine our understanding of early settlement in South Carolina. About the same time, Glen Hanson directed large-scale excavations in both Archaic and Woodland deposits at the G. S. Lewis site on the SRS (Sassaman et al. 1990). Major survey and excavation projects have occurred on the SRS almost every year from the mid-1980s to the present, giving an outstanding overview of the archaeological record of the inner Coastal Plain (e.g., Brooks and Hanson 1987; Cabek et al. 1996; Sassaman 1989, 1993a; Sassaman et al. 1990).

Important work on shell midden sites continued along the coast through the 1980s, with significant monographs produced on the work at the stratified Minim Island site in Georgetown County (Drucker and Jackson 1984; Espenshade and Brockington 1989). In 1986 Michael Trinkley produced a major overview of his work at the Stalling's period Fish Haul Creek site on Hilton Head Island, where evidence for a structure was found. Although his research spans all periods of prehistoric and historic sites archaeology locally, appreciable effort has been directed to shell midden sites (e.g. Trinkley 1974, 1980a, 1986, 1989, 1993).

During the mid-1980s, a major excavation program was conducted at the Nipper Creek site in the lower Piedmont, documenting Archaic period components in stratified context (Wetmore 1986; Wetmore and Goodyear 1986). The mid-1980s also saw a flurry of publications on the University of South Carolina's field school efforts at the Mulberry site (e.g., Grimes 1986; Judge 1987; Sassaman 1984). In the late 1980s the first detailed Mississippian ceramic sequence was produced for the Wateree River (DePratter and Judge 1990), and DePratter (1989) synthesized archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence for the sixteenth-century province of Cofitachequi encountered by De Soto in this area (see also Baker 1974).

Research Trends in the 1990s

Although it seems hard to believe, the 1990s have witnessed a tremendous amount of fieldwork and publication that in some ways rivals all that came

before. More than 90 percent of the some fifteen hundred reports generated during this decade were produced by CRM work (Keith Derting, personal communication 2001), and the implications of all this activity are only slowly being absorbed. Following Hurricane Hugo in 1989, for example, the U.S. Forest Service conducted a massive program of survey and excavation in the Francis Marion National Forest (Morgan 1993). All of Fort Jackson near Columbia has been intensively surveyed (Poplin et al. 1993), as have large portions of most other military bases in the state. Overviews of Paleo-Indian and Early Archaic research (Anderson et al. 1992; Anderson and Sassaman 1996), and Middle and Late Archaic period research (Sassaman and Anderson 1994) state-wide have appeared, as have books documenting Mississippian and Late Archaic occupations along the Savannah River (Anderson 1994; Sassaman 1993b). Major synthetic survey and excavation reports are also increasingly common (e.g. Cabek et al. 1996; Cable et al. 1993, 1998; Drucker and Davis 1998; Garrow and Holland 1996; Gunn and Wilson 1993; Joseph et al. 1991; Sassaman 1993a; Southerlin et al. 1999; Trinkley 1993).

The Development of Local Prehistoric Cultural Sequences

The amount of published literature concerned with sequence development and taxonomy has steadily increased in recent years. Thanks to the massive amount of fieldwork that has occurred and the efforts of a number of hard-working individuals, we now have excellent local ceramic sequences from many parts of the state, including from the central South Carolina coast (Cable et al. 1993; Trinkley 1980a, 1980b, 1983); from the southwestern coast near Beaufort (Trinkley, ed. 1986); from the Wateree River valley at and below Camden (Cable 1998; Cable et al. 2000; DePratter and Judge 1990); from the lower Santee River (Anderson 1982; Cable 1992, 1993, Espenshade and Brockington 1989); and along the lower, central, and upper reaches of the Savannah River (Anderson 1994; Anderson et al. 1986; DePratter 1979, 1991; Hally and Rudolph 1986; Sassaman and Anderson 1990). Extensive effort has also focused on the ceramics of specific time periods, particularly the Late Archaic Stallings and Thom's Creek series (Sassaman 1993b; Trinkley 1980a; see also Anderson 1996 for a recent overview of local research).

Emphasis on Sound Method, Theory, and Resource Management

One of the most encouraging aspects of archaeological investigations in South Carolina has been a continuing emphasis on archaeological method and theory and sound cultural resource management. The state is one of the leading centers for research in historic sites archaeology. Much of Stanley South's revolutionary quantitative approach to historic archaeology, as reflected in his book *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (South 1977b), for example, was

developed with materials from local sites. Likewise, many of the papers in South's (ed. 1977) reader titled *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology* were written by archaeologists who had recently or still were working in the state, and many of the articles were based on South Carolina materials.

This tradition of solid historic sites research has continued, as reflected by works such as Leland Ferguson's (1992) synthesis of African American archaeology, *Uncommon Ground*; Joe Joseph's (1989, 1993a) work with plantation archaeology; Ken Lewis's (e.g., 1976, 1984, 1989) long-term research on the frontier period at Camden and elsewhere; Stine et al.'s (1993) overview of landscape archaeology; and Martha Zierden's (e.g., Zierden 1993a; Zierden and Calhoun 1984, 1986a, 1986b) work on the archaeology of early English and American life in Charleston. The historic research of these individuals has been complemented by outstanding studies of African American life such as those by Wheaton et al. (1983) at Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations in Berkeley County; Garrow and Holland's (1996) work at the Frazier cabin in Beaufort County; and Lesley Drucker and Ron Anthony's (1979) work at Spier's Landing in Berkeley County. A great many of America's leading historic sites archaeologists have trained or worked in South Carolina to the benefit of our understanding of the local archaeological record (as summarized in Joseph 1993a; Steen 1993; Zierden 1993b).

The same is also true for prehistoric sites research, where outstanding scholars such as John Cable, Al Goodyear, Mike Trinkley, and Ken Sassaman have been working and publishing for many years (Anderson 1977, 1993a). Likewise, South Carolina has been the home of Chester DePratter for more than a decade, a scholar who, working in cooperation with colleagues such as Charles M. Hudson and Marvin T. Smith, has revolutionized our understanding of Mississippian chiefdoms and early Spanish exploration. An active underwater research program has been in place at SCIAA for more than twenty-five years under the direction of first Alan Albright and then Chris Amer.

Concern for the recovery of paleosubsistence data has also grown. Ethnobotanical and zooarchaeological analyses are now a routine part of research. Physical anthropological analyses have explored aspects of health and diet among local Late Archaic through early historic populations (e.g., Larsen et al. 1992; Michie 1974; Rathbun 1989; Rathbun et al. 1980; Wilson 1997). Finally, there has been an increasing interest in replication experiments, as characterized by Michie's (1973) early but still famous Dalton point butchering experiments.

One of the most encouraging developments is the establishment of the South Carolina Heritage Trust Program. Under the skillful leadership of Chris Judge (1993), many archaeological sites have been purchased and preserved over the past fifteen years. The state site files have been entered into a Geo-

graphic Information System (GIS), a project inspired by the vision of Jim Scurry of the South Carolina Water Resources Commission and implemented by SCIAA staff member Holly Gillam. This computerization effort builds on the solid empirical foundation provided by Keith Derting and Sharon Pekrul of SCIAA's Information Management Division (and their many predecessors down through the years), who have developed what I believe are among the cleanest and most problem-free site records in the region.

Conclusions

We have come a long way in South Carolina. Although we are hard-pressed to make sense of all that is occurring, most of us would rather be where we are today than go back to where we were thirty-five years ago. That we have learned so much in so short a time is, in part, because of the mandates of modern environmental legislation. Nonetheless, South Carolina has also done a great deal with this opportunity, more than many states, for two reasons. First, we have been fortunate in possessing skilled administrators capable of developing the funding and institutional support base for local archaeologists. Second, the scholars who have gravitated to the state have included many with the drive and vision to initiate solid research and then follow through with the production of reports and papers on their efforts. We are where we are today because of the hard work of a great many talented people interested in learning about and preserving South Carolina's past.

Notes

Portions of this paper appeared earlier in *South Carolina Antiquities* (Anderson 1977, 1993a, 1993b), although these writings have been substantially revised and updated. Also, I wish to thank Charles McNutt, Jane Hill, and Shannon Tushingham for help, patience, and assistance in the preparation of this chapter. I also thank Ken Sassaman and Bruce Rippeteau for specific advice and commentary and Jim Michie for help with all my earlier historical summaries.

14 Forty Years of Kentucky Archaeology or Incidents of Recent Archaeological History in a Border State

A Review

R. Berle Clay

When I first became involved in archaeology in 1959, the expenditures for all archaeology in Kentucky were probably somewhat less than \$40,000, mainly for university salaries. Now it is probably conservative to estimate that that figure is somewhere between six and eight million dollars, due to changes in public policy. Unlike today, archaeology did not really exist in a very meaningful way at the end of the 1950s.

Over the past forty years the practice of archaeology has become an increasingly diverse enterprise. No one could have foreseen this in 1959. Today only a small percentage of Kentucky archaeologists are employed in the academy, whereas in 1959 all were. Nineteen are listed in the Register of Professional Archaeologists. As many again are not. Those outside the academy hold a variety of jobs in public administration and the private sector. It may be surprising to some that the job descriptions of the many archaeologists in Kentucky do not state that they shall act like “traditional” archaeologists.

We are fortunate that we have a recent summary of state archaeology (Lewis 1996). Yet, as important as it is, it does not do justice to the variety of archaeological enterprises that exist; archaeology has truly become a public service whose goal is not simply limited to the reconstruction of the past. But with Lewis's summary in hand I have chosen here to focus on aspects of intellectual development that may not be obvious from its excellent coverage. I do this to counter a tendency to view archaeological history as *paradigmatic*, which is all too often seen as a blank check to ignore history altogether or mercilessly bowdlerize it like a young Binford skewering his teachers in his earlier writings.

A Comment on the River Basin Program

At the end of the 1950s Kentucky archaeology was the National Park Service River Basin Surveys Program. It produced capsule views of prehistory from scattered river valleys of the state and a large body of technical reports and published articles. Initially including surveys of the Barkley, Nolin, Rough, and Barren Reservoirs, it went on to Cave Run on the Licking, Fishtrap on the upper Cumberland, the Green and Red Rivers, and Paint and Blaine Creeks in eastern Kentucky. River Basin archaeology only ends in the 1980s with the Yatesville Reservoir in eastern Kentucky.

Superficially it is difficult to equate the products of these many years. Nowhere is this more evident than in the final monograph on the Paintsville Reservoir (Adovasio 1982), a product near the end of River Basin work. In more than one thousand pages of excruciating detail this monograph covers questions about material culture that was not collected in 1959 (chert debitage and archaeobotanical materials).

Realistically, however, there is no reason why they should be “equated.” River Basin archaeology proved to be a source of innovation. Work in Barkley Basin produced the first regional ceramic sequence (Clay 1963), which has had enduring impact (Clay 1979, 1997). Barren Reservoir produced the first significant dissection of a Mississippian platform mound (Hanson 1970). The Fishtrap Reservoir is memorable for the first real attempt in the state to deal with the structure of an archaeological community, the Woodside phase component of the Slone site (Dunnell et al. 1971; Hanson et al. 1971). Cave Run Reservoir marks an important milestone in the development of lithic studies (Blakeman 1971). Work in a projected Red River Reservoir included important archaeobotanical work (Cowan 1979) with later consequences (cf. Cowan et al. 1981). Finally, excavations in the Yatesville Reservoir documented an Early Woodland occupation for eastern Kentucky (Niquette and Kerr 1989).

In retrospect, River Basin archaeology has been less a bad old brand of archaeology characteristic of a certain period than a bellwether of the changes in archaeology for forty years. Unfortunately, it will remain “salvage archaeology” for all too many and somehow inferior to contemporaneous grant-funded archaeology.

Trumpets and Small Change for the New Archaeology

In the early 1960s we were on the brink of changes measured by greatly increased graduate training opportunities and the addition of peer-reviewed research funding in the form of National Science Foundation grants. Combined, these produced that flowering known as the “New Archaeology.” I remember when Al Spaulding, then NSF director for archaeology, visited the

University of Kentucky in 1962 soliciting grant applications. This resulted in Schwartz and Rolingson's application for a study of late Paleo-Indian and early Archaic in western Kentucky (Rolingson and Schwartz 1966), the first NSF-funded project in the state. Although NSF funds would continue to play a role in Kentucky archaeology through research grants and graduate student support, by the 1970s they would constitute but a small portion of the total support for archaeology. In Kentucky, as elsewhere, NSF funding ceased to be the major financial support of archaeology by the end of the 1960s, replaced by the largely unanticipated (by the archaeologists at least) windfall of the National Historic Preservation Act. In some sense the fortunes of "new" archaeology have tracked along with the financial performance of grant-funded research.

An Archaeologist from Illinois and His Impact

The year 1963 witnessed the beginning of the longest-running, focused research interest in Kentucky archaeology. This was to develop into the Shell Mound Archaeological Project under Watson, although she would probably plead that it was far from focused (Watson 1996). In that year Joseph Caldwell of the Illinois State Museum met at Mammoth Cave National Park with members of the Cave Research Foundation, the park supervisor, and the University of Kentucky. Caldwell and the Cave Research Foundation presented plans for work in the caves, exploring the nature of cave use, by the Illinois State Museum; fieldwork began that summer.

Watson (1996) has commented on the history of the research that flowed from these beginnings. Nonetheless, I think that meeting in the winter of 1963 was seminal for a somewhat broader reason. Caldwell (1962) had just finished a piece for the Wenner Gren symposium, *Courses toward Urban Life* (Braidwood and Willey 1962). He stressed the parochial character of economic change in the eastern Woodlands that he saw as the result of "primary forest efficiency" during the late Archaic (Caldwell 1958). I expect it was his interest in the potential for economic data, linked with the issues that he had just addressed in print, that got him into the caves (see comments in Watson 1996:159).

Caldwell (1965) believed that Mesoamerican-style agriculture was not involved in Adena-Hopewell and that one could decouple the development of cultural complexity in the eastern United States from Mesoamerica for this reason and seek an explanation for it in a local interaction sphere. This was a novel position to take at a time dominated by the culture-historical interpretation of eastern prehistory's Mesoamerican-inspired stages (Willey and Phillips 1958). His concern for the local origins of agriculture in the Eastern Woodlands set the stage for examining the independent origins of its social complexity. If I

read the current interpretation of Adena and Hopewell correctly, we have been moving over the past forty years toward just such a position. Central to it has been the understanding of the economic basis of eastern United States prehistory.

The systematic recovery and analysis of botanical remains, flowing ultimately from Caldwell's interests, has profoundly affected both the conduct of archaeology and the interpretations of culture change. Work in Kentucky has been in the forefront. Caldwell (1962:306) said:

The idea of a primary farming community, which is coming to be of the greatest usefulness in understanding the emergence of the nuclear civilizations, can hardly have the same meanings when applied to these eastern North American communities of hunters and feminine part-time cultivators. Forest communities would be a better term. Increasing cultivation and borrowings from Mesoamerica were, most of us would agree, changing these forest communities to something else. But I am not at all sure that our understanding of the process of change will be furthered by the assumption that these were leading to the kind of village-farming communities which we believe to have existed in contemporary Mesoamerica. . . . Willey's recent statement that "Middle American town life with its temple-mound-and-plaza complex, entered the Mississippi Valley sometime between A.D. 500 and 1000" has an odd ring in terms of the context I have been trying to discover and portray.

Subsequent workers, including Cowan (1978, 1979, 1985), Ford (1978, 1985), Fritz (1986b), Gremillion (1995a), Rossen (1987, 1988, 1990), Wagner (1983, 1984), Watson (1969, 1974, 1985, 1989), Yarnell (1978), and others, have developed that context through the analysis of Kentucky archaeobotanical materials. The accumulated remains from the great caves, the Green River Valley, the dry rock shelters of eastern Kentucky, and the countless recoveries of botanical remains from virtually every archaeological site excavated in the state since the late 1970s have created an understanding of prehistoric economics in Kentucky. This was barely articulated in 1959 and, where mentioned then, drew unabashedly on Middle American analogues.

The linking of this economic base to social reconstruction has lagged somewhat behind the interpretation of the plants. This reflects the difficulty we have had in accumulating evidence on the nature of settlement systems concurrent with developing domestication. Still, data from sites such as Martin Justice (Kerr and Creasman 1995), Calloway (Niquette and Boedy 1986; Niquette et al. 1987), and Graham (Niquette and Kerr 1989) are revealing credible evidence for the dispersed and transient nature of the earlier Woodland occupation (Clay

1998:13–18; Niquette 1992). When coupled with the realization that corn appears late in the Ohio Valley (Wymer 1992:66), we have finally reached a point where it can no longer be maintained that “Adena probably represents the earliest reorientation of eastern Archaic culture along lines that we can designate as Formative” (Willey and Phillips 1958:157). This is an accomplishment given the enduring allure of a Mesoamerican-tempered interpretation of New World cultural evolution!

The Archaeology of Fort Ancient

A perennial Kentucky question is, why did William S. Webb ignore Fort Ancient? His earliest fieldwork involved excavation at the Clay Mound in Nicholas County (Funkhouser and Webb 1928:84–91) and Fullerton Field in Greenup (Funkhouser and Webb 1928:106–129) among other Fort Ancient sites. In addition, he knew of the important early work at Fox Field (Smith 1910). Nevertheless, in the intense period of data collecting stimulated by the Depression, Fort Ancient sites seem not to have interested him; they were excavated, but in spite of Major Webb.

In Greenup County the first sites excavated by the field director Bohannon included an Adena mound (15Gp6), never published because it proved to have been totally disturbed by earlier excavations; a ceremonial circle (Biggs, 15Gp8) published in brief by Hardesty (1964); and a large Hopewellian earthwork (15Gp1) (Henderson et al. 1988). After inconclusive testing of additional mounds, the field director shifted his attention to Hardin Village (15Gp22), a major component of the Clover phase. In this excavation he completed a masterful piece of fieldwork, possibly one of the best-recorded sites of the period. The fieldwork passed without mention by Webb, and the collections were untouched until the 1960s (Hanson 1966). In eastern Kentucky, relief archaeology is remembered for the excavation of the C and O Mounds near Paintsville. Webb’s fieldworkers also excavated the Mayo site, work that would remain unpublished until the 1980s (Dunnell 1983) and then only in part. In northern Kentucky, work in Boone County is remembered for excellent monographs on Adena mounds (Robbins, Crigler, Riley, Landing, and Hartman). Yet the Fort Ancient Cleek-McCabe site was also excavated and untouched until the 1970s (Rafferty 1974). Finally, in central Kentucky, Webb’s workers excavated the Fort Ancient Buckner site as well as numerous mounds. Buckner remains to be fully analyzed, yet work from the mounds was all promptly published.

It has been suggested that Webb avoided Fort Ancient because Griffin had appropriated the subject by 1940 (Griffin 1943b; cf. Schwartz 1967:109), but Griffin always made it quite clear to me that he thought he had little impact on what Major Webb said or did, perhaps to his everlasting regret. It is also

possible that Webb saw the analysis of these sites as a ceramic problem, something that he consistently avoided, again possibly because of Griffin's growing reputation (Schwartz 1967:109).

The answer may also lie in Webb's own priorities that were shaped by the professional consensus. In 1932 Webb and Funkhouser (1932:415–428) published their research design for Kentucky archaeology, which labeled the eastern part of the state the "Mound Area" including Fort Ancient in that archaeological scene. They said, "This culture having begun the practice of agriculture, as shown by storage bins in the earth, and having thus become sedentary, is certainly responsible for some of the major earthworks of the region. . . . A great deal of further excavation needs must be undertaken before the question of who built the mounds of Central Kentucky has been answered. So far none of the very large mounds of Central Kentucky have ever been scientifically excavated" (1932:418).

I think Webb saw the archaeology of the eastern portion of the state as ultimately a mound problem. He was aware that mounds covered a considerable period of time and that Fort Ancient was late. More interesting, however, was the fact that mounds clearly were the defining product of settled, agricultural life. One does not have to look too far to see what put Webb in this frame of mind, strange as it may seem to us today. Mounds were still the focus of Ohio Valley archaeology, and they had been for more than one hundred years. The pioneering work of the Smithsonian Institution (Thomas 1894) indigenized mound builders, but it still left mounds a focus of interest.

James Ford and Gordon Willey (1941) emphasized mounds in their characterization the post-Archaic prehistory of the east as *four mound stages*, that is, Burial Mound I, Burial Mound II, Temple Mound I, and Temple Mound II. Webb even got ribbed by Willey in his review of the Wright Mounds report (Willey 1941) for not going far enough in drawing the conclusions he might from this large Adena structure (i.e., mentioning the Mesoamerican parallels). Webb was into mounds because that was where pros were, at least as he interpreted it!

The study of Fort Ancient in Kentucky after Webb required the sort of re-direction in thinking about local prehistory that was involved in Caldwell's interest in the development of Eastern Woodland agriculture. Beginning with the analysis of the Hardin Village materials (Hanson 1966), through the excavation and reporting of the Fishtap Reservoir materials (Hanson et al. 1971), and into greatly expanded data collecting after 1980, Fort Ancient has become a vital part of Kentucky prehistory. This has not been by assuming that it was a part of the "mound problem," even though burial mounds are an integral part of earlier Fort Ancient. We will get to those late mounds (one was excavated in Boone County in the 1930s [Rafferty 1974]), but I predict we will not be looking

over our shoulders to figure how they bear out Ford and Willey's sequence of mound construction stages for the eastern United States.

The creation of a Fort Ancient sequence in central and eastern Kentucky has been a product of CRM archaeology. Initially it involved the excavation of a series of upland sites of a type that would probably not have been encountered in River Basin archaeology (Turnbow and Jobe 1984; Turnbow and Sharp 1988; Turnbow et al. 1983). The impact of work at these sites has been expanded through the use of Federal Survey and Planning funds to pursue limited excavations at other Fort Ancient sites (Fassler 1987; Henderson 1992; Henderson and Pollack 1996; Hockensmith 1984; Pollack and Hockensmith 1992; Sharp 1984; Sharp and Pollack 1992).

This combined work has produced phase sequences for central Kentucky (Turnbow and Sharp 1988:281) and north-central Kentucky (Henderson 1992). Coupled with variations in eastern Kentucky, they produce a rich and nuanced framework for the culture-historical development of the late prehistoric. The effort is a neat demonstration of the enduring relevance of a descriptive archaeological phase sequence at one level in archaeological interpretation, despite an interim in which we have been hammered with the criticism that such devices are remnants of a vanquished normative paradigm. Nevertheless, the possibility that this development has anything to do with "Mound Builders" is far from anyone's minds.

Mississippian Culture History in Western Kentucky

Webb excavated a number of Mississippian sites in west Kentucky with Funkhouser and as director of relief archaeology during the Depression. Beyond early monographs on McCleod Bluff (Webb and Funkhouser 1933), Duncan, Williams/Glover (Webb and Funkhouser 1929), Page (Webb and Funkhouser 1930), and Tolu (Webb and Funkhouser 1931), only Jonathan Creek Village (15Ml4) from the later excavations (including Jonathan Creek [15Ml4], Goheen [15Ml8], Birmingham [15Ml18], Roach [15Tr10], Morris [15Hk49], Kirtley, Eaton, and Carlston Annis mound and village) were analyzed (Webb 1952). Webb (1952:134-135) is remembered for his attribution of Jonathan Creek, an early Mississippian village, to sequential Chickasaw and Natchez occupations, an historical interpretation stemming from his fascination with the ethno-historic present unleavened by a control over either chronology or the archaeology of the general Southeast.

Work since 1959 has negated Webb's ethnohistoric interpretation through the development of dated regional sequences. Beginning with a Mississippian phase sequence for the Tennessee-Cumberland (Clay 1979), we now have a sequence for the Mississippi Valley (Lewis 1990) and excellent CRM monographs

on sites in Marshall (Pollack and Railey 1987) and Hopkins (Niquette et al. 1991; Smith 1997) Counties. Elsewhere in the state we can now cite significant contributions to Mississippian period archaeology from work in south-central Kentucky (Hanson 1970; Lowthert et al. 1998) and eastern Kentucky (Jefferies 1995). All these excavations have sampled a variety of Mississippian period site types, including six major sites with mound complexes on the Mississippi River, single mound villages, single structure farmsteads, transient camps lacking permanent architecture, and rock shelters.

When this work is integrated with the sequences from Kincaid (Muller 1986:183) and Angel (Hilgeman 1992, 2000) and survey and testing along the Lower Ohio (Kreisa 1995), we have an increasingly detailed understanding (Clay 1997) of the distribution and dating of Mississippian period sites that did not exist in 1960.

We have even been able to document in western Kentucky (Lawrence and Mainfort 1995; Pollack and Munson 1998) the existence of very late prehistoric occupations relating to the Armored (Williams 1980, 1990) and Caborn Welborn (Green and Munson 1978) phases. Although these do not fully solve where the Mississippian population went after A.D. 1500 (the question of the “Vacant Quarter” raised by Williams [1980]), they do suggest that some very specific ceramic assemblages existed in the time period that show marked discontinuities with earlier assemblages.

Our understanding of Mississippian communities has gone through various changes reflecting the accumulating evidence. In the past there has been a tension between two views of Mississippian occupations, one seeing them as *essentially dispersed* human settlements (Muller 1986:173), the other as *nucleated populations* concentrated in fortified villages (cf. Green and Munson 1978). Muller has maintained that the building blocks of what appear as large, integrated Mississippian communities are small farming hamlets. He suggests that our view of the large centers as “wholes” may be more illusory than real, especially when we move into political reconstruction.

Green and Munson (1978:310), among many others, have proposed a conventional parsing of late prehistoric settlement into hierarchical “building blocks,” including towns, large villages, small villages, and hamlets. Elsewhere (Kreisa 1995), this view of Mississippian settlement in the lower Ohio Valley has been adopted in drawing the distinction between first- and second-order Mississippian communities with political overtones. Muller’s view of social reconstruction has been largely flexible, whereas the more conventional view of Mississippian settlement has been closely linked with stylized applications of “simple chiefdoms” and “complex chiefdoms” as heuristic devices.

Work at three sites, Tinsley Hill (Clay 1997), Wickliffe Mounds (Wesler 1985, 1989, 1991), and Andalex Village (Niquette et al. 1991) has highlighted the reality

that individual Mississippian sites cannot be treated as the sum of their parts. At Tinsley Hill there are two occupations, the first associated with a small platform mound and a later one after mounds had gone out of use. Work at Wickliffe has demonstrated considerable change in village plan and area use over time (Wesler 1985, 1989, 1991, 1996). Excavation of the platform mound at Andalex has demonstrated that the site went through three periods of occupation with quite different characters and breaks between them. Elsewhere I have tried to summarize the implications of these developments (Clay 1997).

The results of these excavations and others, set against work at Kincaid and Angel, are a revelation. Although they may not have answered the question whether Mississippian settlement is dispersed or aggregated, they force archaeologists to consider the growth, maturity, and decline of individual sites. Furthermore, at a regional level it has become clear that a settlement system is not automatically the sum of all Mississippian sites in the region. The building block model of sites would seem to be a flawed simplification where it is used to fashion social reconstruction without the necessary chronological controls, and there is some sense to Muller's more intimate view of Mississippian settlement. It is ironic that it was Webb who pioneered the consideration of the dynamics of Mississippian sites in his analysis of the Jonathan Creek site in 1952. His reconstruction of the ebb and flow of that stockaded enclosure introduced flexibility in Mississippian settlement patterning that we are only now finally coming to appreciate.

Lithic Technology Studies

Lithic technology studies have had a profound effect on Kentucky archaeology, raising the study of the Archaic period from a typological/stratigraphic exercise to one of the more interesting areas for archaeological inference. For example, the report on the Woodside phase Fort Ancient component at the Slone site in eastern Kentucky published in 1971 (Dunnell et al. 1971) was pacesetting in its exploration of village structure using several typological classes. The report took a circumscribed view of lithics, however. Of chippage beyond tool types, the authors simply report 571 worked flakes and observe that there was a tendency for those in the lower levels to be smaller than those in the upper (Dunnell et al. 1971:46).

Today it is probable that the most numerous class of artifacts from such an excavation would be the unworked chert debris, and certainly the worked and unworked chippage would far outnumber all other artifact classes. Furthermore, this chippage would serve as one of the major sources of settlement inferences for the site. Were the Slone site Archaic, the settlement inferences would probably focus on the chippage.

In 1959 changes were not long in coming, with the combined long-distance effects of the Bordes-Crabtree Les Eyzies seminar in 1964 and the duo of Whithoft (1969) and Wyckoff (1969), who led back-to-back discussions of lithic technology at the 1968 Southeastern Archaeological Conference in Knoxville. Yet as Johnson (1993c) suggests, the early workers seem to have come at lithic analysis independently from different backgrounds. These generally involved knowledge of the French typological systems of Bordes for the Middle Paleolithic and de Sonneville-Bordes for the Upper Paleolithic and their limitations. Indeed, the perceptive archaeologist of the 1960s, reading then-current papers such as Binford and Binford (1966) on the Mousterian of Levalloisian facies, surely realized that the chippage was important in archaeological inference; in fact, it was unencumbered by the typological assumptions that were built into tool analysis.

In Kentucky, new lithic analyses first explored chert identification. Using materials from the Cave Run Reservoir, Blakeman (1971) wrote a master's thesis titled "Chert Sources and Cultural Interpretations in the Cave Run Reservoir, Kentucky." Precocious when completed, it reflects the reality that chert variability has always been evident in Kentucky and has concerned others besides archaeologists, notably the geologist Garlan Dever, with whom Blakeman worked. This is because by 1971 Blakeman and others had available excellent geological quad sheets for the state in which the horizontal extent of strata, *many of them defined by their cherts*, were well delineated. Few states had such an important early resource on chert variability. Chert variation and its distribution in the state has remained a hot topic (cf. Gatus 1980, 1983, 1987), and few archaeologists approach fieldwork in any period without a chert type collection at hand.

The next important step was the conception of *sequence* in tool production and the identification of its byproducts as an approach to the process itself. This interest suddenly made every "flint flake" relevant to archaeological analysis and radically changed field methodologies. The archaeologist identified with tool production sequence in Kentucky is Collins. In 1975 he hypothesized a flowchart for tool production and a classification of the chipping byproducts (Collins 1975). He put this method to use in the analysis of CRM projects in Jefferson County (Collins 1979) and the Salt River drainage, which he directed (Robinson et al. 1979).

By the 1980s lithic reduction sequences and chert analysis were being combined in the analysis of lithic assemblages. For example, in his analysis of the Danville Tank site (15Bo16), Gatus (1987) demonstrated that the cherts from this Late Archaic site indicated intensive exploitation of resources of both the Lexington Peneplain to the north and the Knobs to the south. The evidence suggested that there were two types of chert exploitation, one of the local,

fluvial gravel producing raw materials for a wide range of domestic tools and a second type of select cherts from the more distant Knobs for projectile points. He suggested that the first might have been managed by women and imbedded in other gathering activities; predictably, the other—to obtain chert for projectiles—was conducted by men. Gatus's study is just one example of the sort of statement made possible by the analysis of lithic technology.

Lithic technology studies have remained highly dynamic since the 1970s, reflecting the input of different analysts trained in slightly different traditions (Bradbury 1998; Stallings, personal communication 2000). When the results are used to make inferences about settlements, logistics, and the division of work, they are revolutionary. In Kentucky today, the fact that an Adena Stemmed Point from the Bluegrass is made on Paoli chert and not Boyle may occasion more comment than the point type itself.

Archaeology of the Historic Period

Finally, I would like to discuss the historic period. The historic period in Kentucky did not exist in the late 1950s because archaeologists had not invented it. Historic archaeological sites were not systematically recorded before the late 1970s. Nevertheless, given the amount of money spent on it and the size of the collections it generates today, historic archaeology outweighs prehistoric archaeology in importance. We may thank the preservation laws for this truly revolutionary change. It was they, and not the discipline of anthropological archaeology, that mandated that the archaeology of the historic period be given equal attention with that of the prehistoric.

The last fifteen years have seen intensive studies of frontier forts (O'Malley 1989), rural and urban communities and farmsteads (O'Malley 1987; Wagner 1995), slave dwellings (Young et al. 1995), mining camps (Schenian 1988), taverns and urban dwellings (McKelway 1995), religious sects (Janzen 1981), industrial sites and a variety of Civil War sites including camps (McBride 1995) and battlefields (Clay 1994). These studies range into a specialized area called industrial archaeology, which places emphasis on a wide area of industrial research in addition to archaeological fieldwork. The researchers have produced studies of pottery kilns and glass works (Genheimer 1987), brick clamps (Wingfield et al. 1997) and brick processing in general (Hockensmith 1996), hemp-processing factories (Day 1998), water-powered gristmills (Janzen 1981), pine tar production (Hockensmith 1994), and steam-powered sawmills (Kerr and Day 1998). Three of us count ourselves as members of the Society for Industrial Archaeology, a small but significant vanguard.

For those involved with the public, historic period archaeology is the great communicator. Possibly because it is so easy to explain, historic period archae-

ology has become the staple fare of archaeological field schools. Characteristically, it remains a minor part of our college and university curriculum. Any major excavation of a historic site now involves orchestrated public participation. Finally, one of the best recently published examples of archaeology in Kentucky remains Janzen's (1981) study of the mill complex at Shakertown, still in print twenty years after it was published. It is eagerly snapped up by visitors to the community at Pleasant Hill, whose eyes would glaze over at a discussion of chert types. Not surprisingly, there is no comparable monograph on prehistoric archaeology in the state.

It is too early to say where this is going to lead, but anyone who has worked in the historic period rapidly realizes that he or she shares an interest with the historians, many of whom believe they have done quite well without archaeological data. I vividly remember trying to explain to the anointed historian of our Civil War battle of Perryville how the distribution of small arms bullets I had recorded clearly indicated that the Confederate cavalry had made a sweep past this point during the battle with six-shooters blazing. The historian's blank looks matched the bleakness of his comment to me: "*I know. Didn't you read my book?*"

I leave it to my colleagues who consider themselves primarily historical archaeologists to decide just how they will mainstream themselves with historians, for clearly they are biting different ends of the same loaf of bread. I sense that the practice of historical archaeology will not remain a captive of the anthropologists. In the general absence of contact sites in Kentucky, however, it has taken the *historic* period to demonstrate to archaeologists the relevance of archaeology to the public. For some reason we still see the prehistoric archaeology of the state as "ours" and "scientific," and far too many of us are prepared to strong-arm any citizen who expresses an interest in it that conflicts with our carefully nurtured scientific truths. If there is one thing that is certain given the past forty years, these times will change.

15 A History of Tennessee Archaeology

Charles H. Faulkner

On these towering hills appeared the ruins of the famous town of Sticoe (Citico). Here was a vast Indian mount or tumulus and great terrace on which stood the council house.

—William Bartram 1928

William Bartram's observation of the substructure mound located in the Cherokee town of Citico in 1773 was the earliest suggestion of a relationship between prehistory and historic Tennessee tribes. During the next century, the description and excavation of prehistoric sites would focus on these native people and how they were related to the archaeological remains of their pre-contact past.

It was not until five decades later, however, that John Kain first provided a detailed description of these mounds in East Tennessee (Kain 1818). Two years later, Moses Fiske of Hilham distinguished between conical or hemispherical mounds, which he believed were used for burial, and flat-topped mounds, which he thought were constructed "to give eminence to temples or town-houses" (Fiske 1820). Although Fiske's descriptions were insightful for his time, most Tennessee antiquarians, unlike Bartram, did not believe the mounds were built by the ancestors of Native Americans. By the eve of the Civil War, Tennessee's prehistory was interpreted almost solely through Scripture and imaginative cross-cultural comparisons. A typical antiquarian working in the state before the war was Dr. Gerard Troost (1845) who, like most of his contemporaries, simply attributed the construction of these mounds to the "old extinct race" or the enigmatic "Mound Builders."

Classification and Chronology

Although the Civil War virtually ended archaeological investigations in Tennessee for a decade, observations of prehistoric remains made by visitors to the state during the conflict and energies released after its conclusion stimulated new approaches to the interpretation of Tennessee prehistory. Although mounds continued to attract curious Tennessee antiquarians during the next three decades, it was the excavation of stone box graves and related habitation sites that witnessed the first problem-oriented archaeology in which there was an attempt at accuracy in excavation and recording. This led to a new classification and chronology of Tennessee prehistoric cultures during the period from the 1870s to the third decade of the twentieth century primarily by four men: Joseph Jones, Fredrick Ward Putnam, M. R. Harrington, and William E. Myer.

Both Joseph Jones and Fredrick Ward Putnam were important figures in the exploration of prehistoric sites in Middle Tennessee in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Jones might well be called Tennessee's first archaeologist because he dug stone box graves and mounds not out of curiosity or to collect interesting relics but to determine empirically who was buried in these structures (Jones 1876). Jones preceded Cyrus Thomas by almost two decades in his conclusion that people buried in the stone box graves and mounds were not mysterious "Mound Builders" but were, in fact, prehistoric Indians. He was also one of the first American archaeologists to use the direct historical approach, identifying the builders of the stone box graves as Shawnee.

Fredrick Ward Putnam of the Peabody Museum, who was initially attracted to Tennessee by the vast stone box cemeteries in the Nashville area, was the first archaeologist to excavate carefully a village site near these cemeteries. The nearly one hundred so-called earthrings at the Lindsley site near Lebanon were identified as the remains of domiciliary structures, the house floors containing the graves of infants and children. Like Jones, Putnam believed these prehistoric people were Indians who "may have been the ancestors of some of the numerous Southern nations that existed at the time of the discovery of the country" (Putnam 1878). Their direct historical approach was a theoretical model that dominated the interpretation of Tennessee prehistory for the next four decades.

The first Tennessee archaeologist to attempt to separate and add a temporal ordering to the various prehistoric cultures was M. R. Harrington of the Heye Foundation. While excavating a deeply stratified midden in 1919 at the Bussell Place in Loudon County, Harrington recognized a sequence of prehistoric cultures, naming the earliest the "Round Grave" culture and the later the "Rectan-

gular Grave” culture (Harrington 1922). In addition to his recognition of time depth in the Tennessee Valley, Harrington used the functional approach to describe artifacts and re-create the lifeways of prehistoric Tennessee cultures.

William Myer is probably best known for his work at the Gordon Town and Fewkes sites in Davidson and Williamson Counties, respectively (Myer 1928). In 1916 he surveyed what he called the “City of Cisco,” today known as the Pinson Mounds site in Madison County (Kwas 1996; Myer 1922). He did not excavate at Pinson, but his detailed map of the site is probably one of the most frequently reproduced drawings in the state (Myer 1922).

Managing the Past: The Tennessee Valley Authority Era

It was especially the work of Harrington that foreshadowed developments in the next period of Tennessee prehistory. Differences noted between sites and artifact assemblages could now be more confidently ascribed to temporal depth and internal cultural development. Although the direct historic approach remained a popular model, it was becoming clear that some prehistoric cultures were too ancient to be directly related to historic tribes. New approaches to excavation, classification, and theory building were required to handle these problems.

Tennessee archaeology did not have long to wait for the resolution of many of the methodological and theoretical problems. The massive federal relief-supported archaeology of the 1930s provided funds not only to conduct large-scale excavations on a regional level but also to hire anthropologically trained archaeologists to direct these projects. The signing of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act into law in 1933 heralded a new era of professionalism in Tennessee archaeology and eventually provided culture-historical and functional models of culture that are still used by Tennessee archaeologists today.

In 1934, one hundred Tennessee Valley Authority–Civil Works Administration workers began excavating in the Norris Basin, commencing the “period of greatest field activity in eastern United States archaeology” (Guthe 1952). Under the direction of TVA archaeologist William S. Webb, excavation techniques were exemplary for the period. For the first time, floors of substructure mounds and houses were carefully cleared to reconstruct the buildings and establish construction sequences. Structures and burials were photographed and drawn in plan view. Although the final Norris Basin report (Webb 1938) was not concerned with time depth or a regional culture sequence beyond relying on the direct historical approach, it was a model for future research in that three anthropological specialists contributed to the final report: W. D. Funkhouser, physical anthropology; James B. Griffin, ceramics; and Florence M. Hawley, dendrochronology.



Figure 15.1. Madeline Kneberg Lewis and T. M. N. Lewis.
(Courtesy of the Frank H. McClung Museum, University of Tennessee-Knoxville)

When Webb returned to Kentucky in 1935 to take charge of similar salvage programs, Thomas M. N. Lewis, recently appointed head of the Division of Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, replaced him as director of the Tennessee program. Lewis's appointment and academic connection could not have come at a more critical time. Lewis became an astute organizer of this project, which expanded to include four additional reservoirs. Field supervisors in these reservoirs were among the first generation of academically trained Southeastern anthropologists and archaeologists: Charles Fairbanks, Jesse Jennings, Charles Nash, and Robert Neitzel in the Chickamauga Basin; Nash, Chandler Rowe, and Wendell C. Walker in the Watts Bar Basin; Rowe and Andrew Whiteford in the Douglas Reservoir; Nash, Douglas Osborne, and J. Joe Bauxar in the Kentucky Reservoir; and Georg K. Neumann at stone box cemeteries in Middle Tennessee.

In 1940, Madeline Kneberg joined the Anthropology Division to direct the archaeological laboratory that was established to process the staggering amount of archaeological data collected on these sites. With Lewis's organizational ability and Kneberg's analytical prowess, a series of detailed reports on these excavations was planned. The execution of this plan was thwarted by World War II, and although archaeological work was continued at the end of this national emergency, the impetus to publish a full report on the work was lost. Nonetheless, the two publications that were published, *Hiwassee Island* (1946) and *Eva: An Archaic Site* (1961) by T. M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg Lewis, set a new standard for Tennessee archaeology. The focus of the Hiwassee Island report was on function and the reconstruction of lifeways rather than on chronology and trait lists; the Eva site report presented the first comprehensive description of a prehistoric population and the state's first C-14 date, revealing that prehistoric Native Americans had lived in Tennessee for thousands of years. One hundred and eighty years after Bartram recognized a prehistoric Tennessee site, Madeline Kneberg published the first modern summary of Tennessee prehistory in the "green bible" (Kneberg 1952). Kneberg took a decided functional approach, explaining the variation in prehistoric lifeways in part by adaptation to the unique environments of the state. This approach provided a solid foundation for archaeological research during the next period of Tennessee archaeology.

Cultural Resource Management and the New Archaeology

When I arrived at the University of Tennessee in 1964, archaeology in the state was emerging again on a scale comparable to that during the TVA-CWA era. This reawakening was largely due to the enactment of antiquities legislation in the 1960s, the development of state archaeological parks and mu-

seums, and a symbiosis of the culture-historical and processual paradigms formulated by a new generation of Tennessee archaeologists. Although a shift back to large-scale excavation was a positive development, on the negative side Tennessee did not have graduate programs providing enough trained field and laboratory personnel, historical archaeology was rarely conducted, and contemporary Native Americans' traditions were rarely made relevant to the excavation and interpretation of their prehistoric remains.

When the Chucalissa Project in Memphis was inaugurated in 1955, Charles Nash was hired to direct the excavations (Nash 1972). Nash worked to establish Chucalissa as an attraction and started a field school at this large Mississippian town in 1958. Nash began teaching anthropology at Memphis State University in 1963, and through his efforts Charles McNutt joined the staff in 1964.

After the purchase of Pinson Mounds by the state in 1961, Charles McNutt and Bill Fischer tested the site and assigned the major occupation of the site to the Middle Woodland period (Fischer and McNutt 1962), suggesting earlier ceremonial centers in the state. A year later, Dan Morse concurred that most of the earthworks on the site were constructed by the Marksville Hopewell people (Morse and Polhemus 1963). In the mid-1970s the excavations of John Broster and Robert Mainfort conclusively demonstrated that the large platform mounds at Pinson were part of this Middle Woodland mortuary center (Mainfort 1986). Another Middle Woodland ceremonial center was identified in 1966 when J. B. Graham excavated at the Old Stone Fort State Park near Manchester (Faulkner 1968).

In 1966 Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act mandating additional responsibilities for archaeological mitigation by federal agencies. The effect in Tennessee was not immediate, but it has certainly been long lasting. Although systematic surveys were a few years in the future, well-known sites slated for destruction on public land were now excavated.

National Park Service-funded projects included Dan Morse's excavation of a shell midden on the Cumberland River in 1963 (Morse 1967), excavations the same year by J. B. Graham at Moccasin Bend in Chattanooga (Graham 1964), Graham's excavations in the Nickajack Reservoir below Chattanooga in 1964 (Faulkner and Graham 1965, 1966), and excavation in the Tims Ford Reservoir in 1966 by Graham and me (Faulkner ed. 1968). Sites were excavated in 1965 under a federal highway contract in the Nickajack Reservoir by Graham (Faulkner and Graham 1966) and on the Tennessee River in Loudon County by Major C. R. McCollough and me in 1972 (McCollough and Faulkner 1973).

The above projects, which funded radiocarbon dating, not only produced tighter chronologies but also stressed functional and ecological approaches. Morse studied the importance of shellfish in the Late Archaic diet and seasonality of site occupation. Graham's excavations below Chattanooga revealed that

deeply buried Archaic horizons existed in the eastern Tennessee Valley. Like the previous excavations, the work in Tims Ford Reservoir concentrated on establishing community patterning by the excavation of dwellings and related activity areas. One of the most important contributions was the introduction of flotation and analysis of floral and faunal remains by specialists Richard Yarnell, John Guilday, and Paul Parmalee.

Although the National Park Service continued to fund reservoir projects, it was the reentrance of the TVA into funding Tennessee reservoir archaeology in the late 1960s that had a profound effect on archaeological research in the state for the next two decades. Contract funds were now available for adequate research design planning, extensive survey and testing, use of power equipment for deep testing and site stripping, C-14 dating, faunal and floral analysis, and, most important, opportunities for archaeology students to gain valuable field experience.

TVA funding began in the Tellico Reservoir on the Little Tennessee River in 1967 with Alfred "Ted" Guthe as principal investigator. An early research goal in the Tellico Reservoir Project was to determine the origin of the Overhill Cherokee culture. Excavations at the large Cherokee towns of Tommotly (Baden 1983), Toqua (Schroedl and Polhemus 1977; Polhemus 1987), Chota (Schroedl 1982), and Citico (Chapman 1979) failed to clarify the relationship between the Overhill and earlier Dallas Mississippian cultures, although the temporal and spatial patterning of Cherokee material culture and the extent of acculturation in the late eighteenth century with Euro-American culture were studied in detail by Gerald Schroedl (1982) and Richard Polhemus (1987).

The Tellico Archaeological Project also revolutionized excavation strategy and recovery techniques in the Middle South. Under the later direction of principal investigator Jefferson Chapman, the first systematic exposure of deeply buried Early and Middle Archaic sites with a backhoe was initiated (Chapman 1973, 1975, 1977, 1978). This was also the first project that made extensive use of flotation, producing the first comprehensive study of Archaic plant use in Tennessee (Chapman and Shea 1981; Chapman et al. 1982).

The Normandy Archaeological Project, begun in 1972 under the direction of Major C. R. McCollough and me, was the first major CRM project in the state in which both the above and below pool levels were intensively surveyed (Faulkner and McCollough 1973), followed by systematic testing (Faulkner and McCollough 1974, 1977; McCollough and Faulkner 1976), and finally extensive excavation based on a research design focused on the relationship of subsistence, community, and settlement patterns in microenvironmental zones of the upper Duck Valley (Faulkner and McCollough 1978, 1982a, 1982b; McCollough and Faulkner 1978). The virtual absence of buried occupation floors and

middens on the first terrace allowed extensive stripping of the plow zone, exposing entire communities, especially those of the Middle Woodland period. National Science Foundation grants after the Normandy project allowed continued testing of hypotheses about Middle Woodland settlement and community patterns in the tributary stream valleys and upland areas around the Tims Ford and Normandy Reservoirs (Cobb 1985; Cobb and Faulkner 1978; Faulkner 1988a; Kline et al. 1982).

Survey was carried out in the Columbia Reservoir from 1972 to 1975 under the direction of Bruce Dickson (Dickson 1976). Walter Klippel became the principal investigator of this project in 1980. Because of difficulty with property access and size of the reservoir, the research design of this project did not emphasize establishing chronological sequences and subsistence strategies by testing and excavating a wide range of sites, but took an even more processual approach by focusing on specific site formational (Turner 1986), technological (Amick 1984), geoarchaeological (Brakenridge 1982), and sociocultural (Hofman 1986) processes, which were addressed in graduate student theses and dissertations under the direction of Klippel. Work involving graduate students was also initiated by Memphis State University, funded by the TVA, in the Old Hickory Reservoir east of Nashville (McNutt and Lumb 1987; McNutt and Weaver 1983).

Significant data gathered in the East and Middle Tennessee reservoirs through flotation established that plant domestication appeared very early in the Tennessee Valley. Gary Crites discovered early evidence for the domestication of weedy annuals such as *Chenopodium*, marsh elder, maygrass, and sunflower on sites in the Normandy and Columbia Reservoirs (Crites 1978a, 1978b, 1987, 1991, 1993). Some of the earliest maize in the Southeast has been found in the Normandy (Crites 1985) and Tellico (Chapman and Crites 1987) Reservoirs.

Cultural resource management projects continued to dominate archaeological research in Tennessee through the 1980s and the 1990s. This was largely due to the implementation of Executive Order 11593, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

One of the problems in CRM projects in the 1960s and 1970s was a biased sampling of sites located primarily in the river valleys and a general disregard of historic period sites. A major change in our archaeological perspective occurred when the Tennessee Department of Transportation established an archaeology section. Highways are not restricted to alluvial valleys, and for the first time upland areas were routinely surveyed as well as the river bottoms (see, for example, Alvey et al. 1992; Lanham and Bradbury 1992; Roberts and Faulkner 1984). Field strategies mandated systematic shovel testing and deep

backhoe testing of suspected buried sites (Bradbury 1998; Kim et al. 1993) and site stripping during Phase II testing. CRM archaeology, like the TVA-WPA archaeology of the 1930s, also provided an excellent training ground for a new generation of graduate students in field techniques and laboratory analysis.

Thematic surveys were also utilized to study various regions of the state and specific research topics. One of these topics was the Paleo-Indian occupation in Tennessee. Although the presence of humans in Tennessee during the Pleistocene had been suggested ever since the discovery of the Island 35 mastodon on the Mississippi River (Williams 1957a) and Charles McNutt's research at the Nuckolls site (McNutt and Graham 1965), only in the past decade has a state-wide survey by John Broster actually located intact Clovis remains. The Johnson site on the Cumberland River contains deeply buried hearths dated $12,660 \pm 970$ B.P. and $11,700 \pm 980$ B.P. (Broster and Norton 1990), and the Coats-Hines mastodon site in Williamson County has produced the remains of a mastodon that appears to have been butchered (Breitburg and Broster 1995).

Although historic sites had been excavated as early as 1939 at Fort Loudoun (Kunkel 1960), most of the earlier work on these sites had been restricted to contact or early colonial sites (Polhemus 1977; Thomas 1977). Compliance with federal and state statutes now required testing of all potentially significant historical sites, especially those in urban areas. Prior to the early 1980s these sites had been virtually ignored because they were believed to have been destroyed by urban construction (see Faulkner 1981; Garrow et al. 1996; McNutt and Smith 1982). Not only the previously neglected urban sites but also the domestic sites of the common folk or "invisible" people in our history such as African-American slaves (McKee 1992; McKelway 1994) and yeoman farmers (Longmire 1996; Weaver et al. 1993) were now studied. In keeping with the growing emphasis on historic sites archaeology, the Tennessee Division of Archaeology instituted a thematic survey of historic sites in the state (Smith and Rogers 1979; Smith et al. 1988).

In the 1960s Tennessee universities began to offer majors in anthropology to students interested in Tennessee archaeology. A major in anthropology was established in 1964 by Memphis State University, and their first M.A. degree in anthropology was conferred in 1979. The University of Tennessee-Knoxville began offering the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in 1972 and 1976, respectively.

NAGPRA has also had a profound effect on the conduct of Tennessee archaeology during the past decade. Most important, of course, is the recognition by Tennessee archaeologists of Native American sensitivity to the excavation and repatriation of burial remains and the attempt to foster new collaboration and cooperation between Native Americans and archaeologists on these issues. Although compliance with NAGPRA has altered our study of human

burials, it has also restricted the wanton destruction of graves by development and vandalism.

The Past and Future in Retrospect: 2000 and Beyond

As Charles McNutt and I stand ready to pass the torch to the next generation of Tennessee archaeologists, I see three main issues facing us in the new millennium. Will the culture materialistic processual paradigm continue to dominate Tennessee archaeology? How will the increasing role of CRM archaeology affect our ability to address all aspects of the human past? Finally, what role will NAGPRA continue to play in future archaeological research in the state?

The obvious processual agenda in Tennessee archaeology since the late 1960s has resulted in a gap in current theory building. Postprocessual approaches, especially cognitive archaeology, have largely been ignored because of the emphasis on cultural ecology and materialism. This seems to be changing, however, because of the discovery of prehistoric art in a deep cave in East Tennessee. The study of Mud Glyph Cave (Faulkner 1986) in 1982 and later discoveries of rock art sites (Faulkner 1988b, 1997; Faulkner and Simek 1996) has led to a long-term study of rock art in Tennessee, a subject that had been generally ignored by professionals throughout eastern North America. The development of scientifically valid interpretive systems for understanding the symbolism and iconography represented in Tennessee rock art will provide a new dimension to our understanding of meaning in prehistoric material culture. Jan Simek has expanded the research in Tennessee caves by documenting evidence of underground mining by prehistoric Native Americans (Simek et al. 1998).

Whether we like it or not, CRM archaeology will probably play an even greater role in our study of the past as we move into the next millennium. The fastest-growing sectors of professional archaeology in the United States are the government and private sectors, and 90 percent of our nation's archaeological work is in CRM (Fagan 1999). Having conducted archaeological excavation wearing both CRM and academic caps, I am convinced CRM archaeology can be scientific and problem oriented if it is approached anthropologically, if contract archaeologists are trained in the latest field methodologies and history/prehistory of the regions in which they are working, and if they consider the perspectives and sensitivities of the people they are studying.

It is appropriate that I conclude with the issue of NAGPRA and address the effect of this legislation on the future of prehistoric archaeology in Tennessee. In a sense, we have come full circle since William Bartram first noticed the past was part of the present in the town of Citico. We are again hearing the voices

of Native Americans not only from the past but also from the present. These voices are changing our study of the past from an emphasis on cultural materialism to a concern with symbolism and belief systems. Although some of our past approaches may be restricted, this more balanced view of past lifeways should open new research opportunities for Tennessee archaeologists as we enter the next millennium.

16 One Hundred Years of Archaeology in Mississippi

Jay K. Johnson

Twentieth-century archaeology in Mississippi got off to an excellent beginning with the excavations by Charles Peabody at the Edwards and Dorr Mounds in western Mississippi in 1901 (Peabody 1904). Not only did he recover a large collection of prehistoric and protohistoric material but also he recorded his excavations with enough precision to allow a detailed reconstruction of mound structure and stratigraphy (Belmont 1961). This project also marks the beginning of a long tradition of fieldwork in Mississippi by the Peabody Museum at Harvard.

C. B. Moore made several trips to Mississippi during the first decade of this century (Moore 1901, 1905a, 1908, 1911). By his own reckoning, he met with little success, cutting short his field seasons on the upper Tombigbee, Gulf Coast, and Yazoo River because, for example, “after about one month’s continuous work on the Yazoo and Sunflower rivers [January-February, 1908], it having become evident to us that our search was inadequately rewarded, we determined to change to another field” (Moore 1908:566). The 1908 report also includes an account of similarly “unproductive” work at the Blum Mounds (Winterville). The final visit to the state was part of an expedition up the Mississippi River from New Orleans to just south of the Arkansas-Missouri line during the winter of 1910–11. Several sites in Mississippi were excavated, and Moore recovered a total of 178 vessels, several of which were illustrated. He went on, however, to visit such sites in Arkansas as Avenue, Kent, Rhodes, and Pecan Point, whose names are familiar because they produced such spectacular collections of polychrome and effigy pottery. These results clearly overshadow the Mississippi material. In spite of Moore’s dissatisfaction with Mississippi archaeology, he provides some early and relatively accurate accounts of mound sites in the state, Lake George for example (Moore 1908:590–592).

The next major project in Mississippi was carried out in the Natchez Bluffs by Warren K. Moorehead in 1924 and is reported almost as an aside in his Etowah monograph (Moorehead 1932). Although he spent only two months in the field, twenty-two mounds were “excavated upon rather a large scale” as a result of the relatively cheap labor in the region (Moorehead 1932:159). Moorehead was inspired to work in the homeland of the Natchez after reading Swanton’s accounts, but although “we entered upon our Natchez work with anticipation and zest . . . the results were disappointing. Assuming that the French narrative indicated a high culture equal to that of Etowah, we were unable to secure field evidence supporting this contention” (Moorehead 1932:165). The sort of evidence that would have satisfied Moorehead becomes clear in his evaluation of the general nature of the artifacts from Mississippi. Referring to Calvin Brown’s 1926 book, *Archeology of Mississippi*, Moorehead (1932:165) notes that a large number of artifacts are illustrated, “yet for the most part these are not true art objects. There are, of course, exceptions.”

In fact, Calvin Brown (1926:46) visited Moorehead during the Natchez area excavations: “Being present three days in the field at Selsertown [Emerald Mounds] and Anna, no attempt is made to incorporate the results of those investigation[s] in this book; it is reserved for Mr. Moorehead to publish a detailed account of his studies in the Natchez territory.” Unfortunately, Moorehead (1932:160) presents a condensed account of all mounds explored: “Those who seek more detailed information are referred to ‘Archeology of Mississippi.’”

Indeed, Brown’s *Archeology of Mississippi* is a detailed account of most of what was known about the prehistory of Mississippi at the time. Brown had doctorates in both geology and comparative literature and had been photographing mounds in Mississippi since 1912 (Ford 1987). The book relies on his own fieldwork including accurate and detailed site maps and a limited amount of excavation as well as published works including Moore, Swanton, and several early histories. He also made use of private collections that had been donated to the University of Mississippi, where he was a professor of modern languages, or to the Mississippi Geological Survey, which he served under the title of archaeologist. His book stands as the only comprehensive published work on Mississippi prehistory to date and has been reprinted by two different presses.

Still, *Archeology of Mississippi* is a better marker for the end of an era rather than a beginning. It almost entirely descriptive, organized under chapter headings such as “Mounds and Earth-works,” “Axes and Celts,” “Pottery,” and “Post-Columbian Material.” It is in the last category that the only clear discussion of chronology is evident in spite of Brown’s background in geology. As a boundary between paradigms, the timing for the publication of this book could hardly have been better. Just the year before, in 1925, Henry B. Collins of

the Smithsonian Institution conducted archaeological fieldwork in the Choctaw homeland in south-central Mississippi. His report on that work (Collins 1927) was the first account of archaeological research in Mississippi to illustrate potsherds, a sure indicator that the focus had turned from museum pieces to chronology.

Collins had just spent two years at Pueblo Bonito with Neil Judd and was eager to apply the lessons learned to the archaeology of the region where he grew up (Blitz 1988). He and personnel from the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) conducted surface collections and excavations at historic, protohistoric, and Woodland period sites in a clearly conceived attempt to apply the direct historical approach. He returned to Mississippi in 1929 to direct a week's worth of excavation at the Deasonville site in west-central Mississippi. There he conducted a systematic surface collection. "In order to determine the relative proportions of the various types of ware represented, a surface collection was made by picking up every sherd on and between three cotton rows for a distance of about 100 feet" (Collins 1932:12). He determined that most of the deposit was located within the plow zone and brought in a mule team and scraper to strip the site, thereby revealing several large, circular house patterns. Ceramics were sorted by surface decoration and described as to temper, manufacturing technique, and vessel shape. A brief comparison to other ceramics and a tentative chronological statement was presented. Both bones and plant remains were studied by specialists.

Beyond the importance of this piece as an early statement of the culture-history approach to Southeastern archaeology, Collins made another, perhaps more significant contribution to the archaeology of the region. His two young assistants on the dig were James Ford and Moreau Chambers, both employees of the MDAH. Ford and Chambers had been conducting summer fieldwork for the MDAH since 1927 when Dunbar Roland, the historian who headed that institution, instructed them to collect artifacts with little in the way of "instruction or indoctrination in archaeological digging" (Willey 1988:52). Collins supplied that guidance. In addition, he took Ford with him to work on Eskimo sites in Alaska, where Ford learned more about archaeological field techniques and analytical approaches to chronology. Finally, Collins became an enthusiastic supporter for the continuing work of both Chambers and Ford in the Southeast (Blitz 1988).

Ford returned from Alaska to set up a program of archaeological research in Louisiana using funds provided by the National Research Council (Willey 1988). Meanwhile, Chambers continued survey and excavation in the central part of Mississippi. Funding was provided by the MDAH with at least some support from the Smithsonian. The field season generally lasted for three to four months except for the 1933 survey, which was cut short so Chambers could

attend the University of Chicago field school at Kincaid (Chambers 1932–1935). During the 1930s Chambers and an assistant would leave from Jackson in an MDAH truck loaded down with shovels and camping gear and travel the central part of the state, excavating mounds and village sites. The budget seems to have been limited, amounting to subsistence and salary for Chambers and his assistant. Chambers made minimal use of Depression-era relief monies, always through the local county Federal Emergency Relief Administration or the Civilian Conservation Corps agent. Crew size rarely exceeded ten, and most of the time Chambers and his assistant worked alone. During the 1930s Chambers excavated several important sites in Mississippi, including Fatherland in the Natchez Bluffs, Nanih Waiya in the Choctaw heartland, and Lyon's Bluff, a late prehistoric mound center in east-central Mississippi (Ford 1936). In 1937 he worked on Chickasaw sites in northeastern Mississippi using Civilian Conservation Corps labor (Jennings 1941).

Although Chambers conducted fieldwork in Mississippi every summer for more than a decade, excavating many sites and recording hundreds more, his impact on Mississippi archaeology was minimal because of various factors. Most of his collections were lost in a fire in Jackson while Chambers was in graduate school in 1940 (Baca 1989); Chambers did not return to archaeology after World War II; and, finally, he did not publish. The only generally available account of the MDAH site survey is Ford's (1936) summary of the work up to that point.

It would, of course, be difficult to overstate the importance of Ford's 1936 publication on the ceramics of Mississippi and Louisiana. Not only did it establish the base line on which the chronology for the Lower Mississippi Valley would be built but it also made an important methodological statement (Brown 1978; Johnson and Sparks 1983; Willey 1969). Although Ford remained interested in Mississippi archaeology, he did not return to work in the state until 1940 as a founding member of the Lower Mississippi Survey (LMS). The two other principals were Philip Phillips of the Peabody Museum at Harvard and James Griffin at the University of Michigan. Ford began the project while on staff at Louisiana State University but took a job at the American Museum of Natural History not long thereafter. The project was funded in part by a grant from the National Park Service, which provided per diem and the use of a truck (Lyon 1996:177).

In only seven months of fieldwork carried out by Phillips and one or two of the other principals along with one or two graduate students between 1940 and 1947, the LMS established the chronology and ceramic typology for the entire Yazoo Basin of western Mississippi and much of eastern Arkansas. The resulting monograph (Phillips et al. 1951) set a standard for the reporting of archaeological survey that few have matched. In addition to the major emphasis on

setting up ceramic types and phases, the report also makes good use of historic documents and geomorphology as well as site plans to provide an excellent first look at the prehistory of the Yazoo Basin.

Phillips continued work in the Yazoo Basin during the 1950s, concentrating on the southern portion, working out of Yazoo City and Greenville. These results were reported in a two-volume monograph in which he makes a persuasive argument for the use of the type-variety system of ceramic typology (Phillips 1970). Two other major LMS projects took place during the 1950s. Ford and Phillips had planned to work elsewhere in the Yazoo Basin during the summer of 1951 but were convinced by William Haag, then on the faculty at the University of Mississippi, to take advantage of an extensive profile exposed by a Mississippi Highway Department borrow pit at Jaketown, a large Poverty Point period site near Belzoni (Ford et al. 1955). In 1958, Stephen Williams took over the supervision of the LMS fieldwork when he began a three-season excavation project at Lake George, a large, Mississippian mound center also in the southern Yazoo Basin. He was assisted in that work by Jeffrey Brain and John Belmont among others (Williams and Brain 1983).

The LMS returned to Mississippi in 1971 to initiate a new round of survey and excavation, this time focusing on the edge of the Mississippi Valley in the heartland of the Natchez. Brain was the field director, and Ian Brown was a crew member (Brown 1990). This was followed by an excavation project that focused on Haynes Bluff near Vicksburg and included some work at the nearby Russell site (Brain 1988). The work was done during the summer of 1974, and Vincas Steponaitis served as field director. As with the Natchez area archaeology, the primary emphasis was on the late prehistoric and early historic periods. Finally, Brown served as field director for additional work in the Natchez Bluffs during the 1981–82 field seasons (Brown 1985). In addition to the fieldwork-based projects, the LMS also contributed to our understanding of the archaeology of the Yazoo Basin and its peripheries in projects that made use of the large collections at the Peabody Museum from that area (e.g., Belmont 1961; Toth 1988), and there have been several smaller excavation projects (e.g., Brain 1972, 1989).

As a result of the work of the LMS in the Yazoo Basin, the outline of the culture history of western Mississippi has been well known since the initial publication in 1951. At midcentury, the only other portion of the state about which anything of substance was known was the area around Tupelo in northeast Mississippi. This was a direct result of work done in preparation for the construction of the Natchez Trace Parkway. Jesse Jennings had been working for the National Park Service in Macon, Georgia, but was transferred to Tupelo in 1938 to confirm the location of the battle of Ackia as determined by historians (Jennings 1991). The site had already been designated a National Battle-

field and was scheduled to be a major stop along the Trace. At the end of the project, Jennings was forced to conclude that the village of Ackia had not been identified. He then became the survey archaeologist for the Natchez Trace and developed a project that focused on Chickasaw villages and Middle Woodland mounds in the general vicinity of Tupelo that was funded by the Works Progress Administration. This was the only WPA archaeology project to have been carried out in Mississippi, although Chambers did make use of local federal relief funds on a limited scale. Jennings was aided in this work by Albert Spaulding. The results were published as an extended article in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (Jennings 1941) and a shorter piece in *American Antiquity* (Jennings 1944). We have only recently begun to add to what Jennings documented for the Chickasaw in any kind of substantial way.

After World War II, Jennings returned to Tupelo, where he spent most of his time conducting ethnohistorical research and working on an interpretive center. He also wrote a proposal for a two- to three-year program of excavation at several mound sites along the Natchez Trace, including Bynum and Pharr in northeast Mississippi and Anna and Emerald in the Natchez Bluffs (Jennings 1941). Jennings was transferred before the project was funded, and John Cotter conducted the fieldwork (Cotter 1951; Cotter 1994a; Cotter and Corbett 1951). Charles Bohannon replaced Cotter and conducted excavations at the Pharr and Bear Creek Mounds (Bohannon 1972). Park Service archaeologists have continued to work in Mississippi but on a smaller scale.

The Jaketown project was important not only because it set the stage for the excavations at Poverty Point itself (Ford and Webb 1956; Ford et al. 1955) but also because it included two archaeologists who were not regular members of the LMS. William Haag was the first archaeologist on the faculty in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Mississippi and, in fact, conducted the first reservoir survey in the state (Haag 1952). Although Haag moved on to Louisiana State University, the position was refilled, and there has been at least one archaeologist at Ole Miss ever since.

The other significant participant in the Jaketown project was R. S. Neitzel. Neitzel had worked on TVA projects in the Tennessee Valley and for Ford in Louisiana during the 1930s but had dropped out of archaeology after World War II. Ford and Phillips convinced him to join them at Jaketown to supervise the site mapping and bore holes (Brain and Brown 1982). He also participated in the 1958 field season at Lake George (Williams and Brain 1983). In 1960 he took a job as Curator of the State Historical Museum in Jackson, Mississippi, where he stayed until he retired in 1966. One of his initial tasks was to organize the collections, which led to an interest in the material Chambers had excavated from the Fatherland site in 1930. Neitzel saw shortcomings in the data that could only be resolved by returning to the site. He secured a National

Science Foundation grant to do so and began a two-year project in 1962. The resulting report (Neitzel 1965), in combination with the posthumous report of work done in 1972 (Neitzel 1983), makes Fatherland one of the most thoroughly investigated historic sites in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Brown 1990).

The State Historical Museum is part of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, which took a new direction in 1966 when the National Historic Preservation Act provided funds for a state historic preservation office. In 1968 John Connaway and Sam McGahey were hired. Both were recent University of Mississippi graduates, and both are still working for the MDAH. Of course, the mandate of the federal government to the State Historic Preservation Officer is to ensure compliance, but the MDAH has a long history of doing a good deal of original research as well. This research includes several major excavations of mounds and village sites throughout the state. Notable among these projects are Boyd (Connaway and McGahey 1971), Denton (Connaway 1977), and Teoc Creek (Connaway et al. 1977) in the Yazoo Basin. Sam Brookes joined the staff in 1973 and conducted the excavation of the Hester site in east-central Mississippi (Brookes 1979). These are only the highlights; a great many more sites and projects have been reported by the MDAH, but there are some clear patterns. With few exceptions, the focus has been on prehistoric sites, and most of the work has been done in the northern two-thirds of the state.

Other than the MDAH and LMS, most of the archaeology done in Mississippi during the 1950s and 1960s was sponsored by the University of Mississippi or Mississippi State University as part of their field schools. Robert Thorne worked on the University of Mississippi field schools while getting his master's degree in the early 1960s and returned to the university in 1971. He initiated the field school at the Slaughter site, which Janet Ford concluded and used for her dissertation research (Ford 1977). Richard Marshall came to Mississippi State University in 1966 and established an active field school program beginning in 1967 at Lyon's Bluff, the same site excavated by Chambers in 1933 and 1934. The field school was a joint project involving both the University of Mississippi and Mississippi State University. The same arrangement was held in the summer of 1968. The Mississippi State field school was held at Lyon's Bluff one more time in 1970 (Marshall 1986).

Thorne and Marshall worked together again in 1970 when they coauthored a report on the archaeological potential of the Tennessee-Tombigbee waterway (Marshall and Thorne 1971). This was a modest start to what became one of the most significant events in the history of archaeological research in the state. It also marks the beginning of large-scale cultural resource management archaeology in the region. The Tenn-Tom waterway begins at the junction of Yelow Creek and the Tennessee River in extreme northeastern Mississippi, follows the creek upstream to the divide-cut section where it crossed over to the Tom-

bigbee River drainage and follows the river south and east, crossing into Alabama below Columbus, about one-third of the way to the Gulf of Mexico. Many archaeological surveys and several dozen site excavations were done to make way for this project, all of it funded by the federal government and administered by the Nashville and Mobile district offices of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

David Brose has written an overview of the results of this work aimed at the interested layperson (Brose 1991). His bibliography of contract reports provides a convenient means for assessing the impact of this project on Mississippi archaeology. Of the fifty technical reports dealing with prehistoric resources in Mississippi that were listed, more than one-third (36 percent) were produced by archaeologists working out of Mississippi State. Principal among these are James Atkinson (Atkinson et al. 1980), John O'Hear (O'Hear et al. 1981), and Janet Rafferty (Rafferty et al. 1980). Within the state, the University of Mississippi and the University of Southern Mississippi ran a distant second and third, sharing just 10 percent of the reports between them. The Office of Archaeological Research at the University of Alabama produced the second largest number of reports (24 percent), exactly two-thirds of the number of reports written by Mississippi State University archaeologists. Many of these were written by Judith Bense, who finished out her Tenn-Tom reports (10 percent) after she moved to the University of West Florida (e.g., Bense 1987). Only 20 percent of the reports were produced by archaeologists from other institutions. When historic archaeology is considered, an entirely different pattern emerges; all but three of the nineteen reports were written by consulting firms from outside the region.

The reliance on local, university-based archaeologists for the prehistoric archaeology on the Tenn-Tom could hardly be more emphatic. Yet when the time came for the final, full-scale mitigation of three select localities, only one of the projects went to a local contractor. Bense directed the midden mound project, focusing on Middle Archaic sites near Fulton, Mississippi (Bense 1987). James Adovasio out of the University of Pennsylvania excavated a series of small rock shelters in the Bay Springs area (Adovasio et al. 1980), and Christopher Peebles from the University of Michigan directed the large-scale excavation of Lubdub Creek, a medium-sized Mississippian mound center just across the state line in Alabama (Peebles 1983). Only the midden mound project has been reported in anything approaching a final draft.

During this same period, the University of Mississippi did several large survey projects for the Corps of Engineers' Vicksburg district. These were located in the Yazoo Basin (Thorne 1977, 1983) and in the North Central Hills (Thorne and Johnson 1987). In addition, the University of Mississippi did a large survey and excavation project at the site of the proposed Yellow Creek nuclear power

plant at the upper end of the Tenn-Tom waterway (Johnson 1981; Thorne et al. 1981). The University of Southern Mississippi did very little archaeology during this heyday of CRM archaeology.

The CRM era changed the face of Mississippi archaeology in many ways. A whole generation of undergraduates and master's level graduate students grew up during this period, finding summer support and thesis topics through CRM programs. Many of these students have managed to return to Mississippi as professionals. The archaeological staff at Mississippi universities grew to meet the academic and research demands of the time, and most of those archaeologists have managed to stay on. There was, of course, a concomitant improvement in the infrastructure: more space, more equipment, better computers, and so on. Moreover, as I have argued before (Johnson 1993b), CRM brought the New Archaeology to the Southeast. In order to compete and meet the demands of the request for proposals, Mississippi archaeologists were forced to go well beyond culture history to examine cultural ecology, production and distribution systems, and cultural evolution, among the many other concerns of the New Archaeology.

During this same period, the MDAH continued to both regulate and produce archaeological data with a fairly constant complement of people. Other agencies became more active in cultural resource management. Among those was the highway department. During most of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the Mississippi Department of Transportation somehow managed to completely avoid significant archaeological mitigation. This was in spite of major road projects in Natchez and Tupelo, two areas that are rich in early historic Indian sites. This has changed drastically in the last five years, with both internal and external salvage projects. Likewise, the U.S. Forest Service did little beyond contracting the survey of land transfers before Sam Brookes took a job with that agency in 1987 (Peacock 1994). Since that time, the number of archaeologists working for the Forest Service in Mississippi has grown remarkably, and Forest Service survey data are being used to explore broad questions about the archaeology of the state.

The early to mid-1990s marked the beginning of another direction in Mississippi archaeology, however. Many of the federal CRM projects are no longer available to universities because of small-business set-aside restrictions. Corps of Engineers projects are now being conducted by out-of-state consulting firms, primarily Coastal Environments in Baton Rouge, Goodwin and Associates from New Orleans, and Panamerican Associates out of its Memphis office. During the past ten years, these firms have done a total of seventy-six contracts in Mississippi, ranging in size from small-scale surveys to mitigation. The reports on these projects have contributed a good deal to our understanding of the past (e.g., Walling and Chapman 1999; Weinstein et al. 1995).

During this same period, university-based archaeologists have continued to do CRM archaeology dealing increasingly with nonfederal clients (O'Hear and Ryba 1999), have used field schools to address problems of interest (Jackson 1998; Rafferty 1995), or have taken advantage of research grant opportunities (Johnson 1991). Meanwhile, the anthropology programs at the three major universities are growing in terms of faculty and the subfields that are covered. Still, all three programs are part of combined anthropology/sociology departments.

There are, I think, some striking differences between the archaeology of Mississippi and that of the rest of the Southeast. In the first place, very little federal relief monies were spent on archaeology during the Depression. Only Chambers, Jennings, and Phillips, Ford, and Griffin used any at all, and it was at a much smaller scale when compared with Tennessee and Alabama. This may account for the relative lack of homegrown archaeology during the mid-century, when most of the fieldwork that was done in the state was sponsored by the LMS. The pattern continues into the current period, when much of the CRM archaeology is done by consulting firms located in adjacent states. There simply are not any in-state consulting firms that are large enough to compete.

In accounting for the Third World aspects of the history of Mississippi archaeology, I am inclined to look first at differences in infrastructure as I have in the past in trying to understand Southeastern archaeology in general (Johnson 1993b). It is true, of course, that Mississippi's universities are relatively small. Nevertheless, the University of Mississippi and the University of Alabama are nearly mirror images of one another in most things except archaeology. How do you explain the huge WPA projects directed by archaeologists out of Tuscaloosa during the same period when Chambers was excavating Lyon's Bluff with a two-man crew? How do you explain the fact that Alabama's Office of Archaeological Research did nearly as much work on the Mississippi portion of the Tenn-Tom as Mississippi State University and more than any other Mississippi university? Similar disparities are evident when you compare Mississippi with Louisiana or Arkansas.

In an effort to begin to understand these differences, I am forced to turn away from my culture-materialist inclinations. Some of the differences seem to be the result of personalities and happenstance. I take some comfort in the fact that the following discussion is inspired by Stephen Jay Gould's popular book on the Burgess shales (Gould 1989). It presents a theory that he calls contingency. That is, it seems that some of the strange creatures of that very early fossil bed have no living descendants not because they were less able to compete but because they were just unlucky. A particular sequence of events led to the success of one line and the extinction of the other. It just happened.

For example, the almost complete disregard for historic archaeology is the result of historic circumstance. Up until recently, the only graduate program

in the state that offered a degree in anthropology was at Ole Miss. For most of the history of the program, the exclusive emphasis has been on prehistoric archaeology. The same can be said for Mississippi State and Southern Mississippi, with the remarkable exception of Amy Young's recent move to Southern. In a 1989 paper I attempted to understand the poor state of historic archaeology in Mississippi. At that time eleven of the thirty-eight members of the Mississippi Association of Professional Archaeologists were Ole Miss graduates. If you added State and Southern, the number of people with in-state degrees rose to sixteen. Moreover, five of the seven archaeologists on staff at the MDAH had in-state degrees. Although the numbers have changed during the past ten years, and we are not quite as inbred as we once were, it is easy to understand why historic archaeology is so little appreciated in the state.

The division of the CRM projects between the universities during the 1970s and 1980s can also be related in some degree to who went to school with whom. Finally, the one area of the state about which we know the least is the Gulf Coast. This is a direct result of the historically weak anthropology program at the University of Southern Mississippi. It is only within the past decade that the department there has grown and that research is being done in this archaeology-rich portion of the state. In fact, the current chair of the department there is Ed Jackson, an archaeologist.

Finally, the fundamental nature of archaeology in Mississippi can be related to personalities and institutions. There seems to have been almost no communication between the two key figures in Mississippi archaeology during the first half of this century: Dunbar Roland, director of the MDAH, and Calvin Brown of the University of Mississippi. It can be no accident that Chambers, who had been doing archaeology in the employ of the MDAH since 1927, did not meet Brown until 1933 and did not visit Oxford until 1935. Brown had visited both Peabody and Moorehead while they were in the field, but there is no record of his ever viewing an MDAH project until 1935. So, archaeology in Mississippi during the Depression was controlled by a historian, and you get the impression, reading Chambers's journals (1932-1935), that it was a definite step-child. While Jones and DeJarnette were putting a veritable army of WPA-funded workers into the field in Alabama, Roland sent Chambers to Starkville to negotiate with the local Daughters of the American Revolution in order to secure \$1.50 to cover crop damage at Lyon's Bluff. Archaeology in Mississippi has been playing catch-up ever since.

17 Alabama Archaeology in the Twentieth Century

John A. Walthall, Vernon J. Knight Jr., and Gregory Waselkov

The area encompassed by the present state of Alabama is a diverse landscape, ranging from the Appalachian highlands in the north, to the low pine hills of the Coastal Plain, south to the marshes of Mobile Bay. In this chapter, we present a brief overview of archaeological research in Alabama through discussions of the history of archaeology in areas of the state where each of our efforts have been focused. Walthall summarizes work conducted in the Tennessee Valley, Knight provides an overview of research at Moundville on the edge of the Coastal Plain, and Waselkov discusses research in colonial period archaeology in the Mobile Bay area and northward along its tributary rivers.

The Middle Tennessee Valley

From its head waters the Tennessee River flows northwest along the western edge of the Appalachian highlands until it reaches the area near Guntersville in northeastern Alabama. There the river turns from its ancient southward course and flows to the northwest across Alabama before it bends almost due north towards its confluence with the Ohio River. Across northern Alabama the middle reaches of the Tennessee River cut through the Cumberland Plateau, forming a wide fertile valley that, prior to the construction of modern locks and dams, flowed over shallow bedrock at rapids near Muscle Shoals. Huge prehistoric shell middens were recorded by early explorers along these shoals and attracted the attention of nineteenth-century antiquarians, as did numerous earthen mounds and caves containing remains left by prehistoric peoples.

After the turn of the twentieth century the Tennessee Valley began to be ex-

plored by archaeologists on an unprecedented scale. For much of the Southeast, the baseline for modern archaeology was established by the work of Clarence B. Moore. Moore, an independently wealthy associate of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia, explored every major waterway in the southeastern United States. During his travels Moore worked from his steamboat, the *Gopher*, and hired local labor to explore scores of prehistoric sites. Moore began his archaeological exploration of the Tennessee River in January of 1914 and eventually traversed the 652-mile river no less than three times. The results of his efforts were published in a lavish volume the following year (Moore 1915). Among the sites he investigated were seven mound groups later assigned to the Copena complex (Walthall 1973; Webb 1939). The spatial limits of Copena were delimited by Moore's large-scale survey; the first mounds of this type he encountered going upstream were found in Hardin County, Tennessee, near the Alabama border; the last were located in Marshall County in the northeastern corner of Alabama. Moore corresponded with Warren K. Moorehead about some of the copper artifacts he recovered from these mounds and, based on stylistic similarities, associated these mounds with the Hopewell mound builders in Ohio.

In 1917, just prior to the construction of Wilson Dam near Florence, Alabama, the Tennessee Valley Historical Society requested that the Bureau of American Ethnology investigate the prehistoric sites in the area to be inundated. Bureau archaeologist Gerard Fowke was sent to Alabama later that year to begin salvage operations (Fowke 1928:436–437; Webb 1939:179). Utilizing local labor, Fowke excavated six sites near the mouth of Town Creek in Colbert and Lawrence Counties. Among these sites were a shell midden, two conical Copena burial mounds, and three substructure Mississippian mounds. Fowke's field techniques were more controlled than C. B. Moore's efforts, but his mound excavation strategy, although novel, was doomed to failure. Fowke's field plan was to excavate an initial trench around the circumference of each mound base. From there he had his crews dig toward the mound center, throwing the back dirt out beyond the circular trench. In each case, once Fowke cleared mound fill away, he found that subsurface burials extended beyond the initial trench. Because he had covered these areas with his back dirt, however, he was not able to explore these features satisfactorily.

Modern, controlled field techniques were introduced to Tennessee Valley archaeology in late 1932 when Walter B. Jones and David L. DeJarnette of the Alabama Museum of Natural History began an archaeological survey in the area, which resulted in the discovery and recording of some 237 prehistoric sites. DeJarnette participated in the 1932 University of Chicago field school at Kincaid—the training ground for scientific field archaeology for some of the

most influential figures in Southeastern archaeology, including James B. Griffin, Jesse Jennings, Joffre Coe, Charles Fairbanks, Madeline Kneberg, and many others.

DeJarnette's training was put to the test beginning in 1933 when the Tennessee Valley Authority announced the initiation of planning and construction of three major hydroelectric dams in the Middle Tennessee Valley that would inundate millions of acres of floodplain. Professor William S. Webb of the University of Kentucky was selected to direct archaeological salvage operations for TVA projects in both Alabama and Tennessee. Thomas M. N. Lewis and DeJarnette were hired to direct archaeological field operations in Tennessee and Alabama, respectively. With the use of Depression-era Civil Works Administration labor and, later, Works Progress Administration labor, survey and excavation were carried out between 1933 and the outbreak of World War II in 1941 in the Wheeler, Pickwick, and Guntersville Basins (Webb 1939; Webb and DeJarnette 1942; Webb and Wilder 1951). These massive efforts resulted in the discovery of hundreds of archaeological sites and excavations at scores of localities, ranging from Archaic shell middens, to Woodland and Mississippian villages and mounds, and early historic contact habitation sites and cemeteries. The results of this monumental effort were summarized by DeJarnette (1952), and these WPA excavations have formed a primary data base for many subsequent studies (e.g., Beck 1995; Cole 1981; Goad 1977, 1979; Jenkins 1975, 1976; Walthall 1973, 1980).

Archaeological research in the Middle Tennessee Valley during the second half of the twentieth century has concentrated on two major topics: hunter-gatherer adaptation to the Pleistocene/Holocene transition and the study of Middle Woodland ritual and interregional interaction. The Middle Tennessee Valley has proven to be an especially rich source of archaeological data for the study of both of these important areas of research.

Eugene Futato (1996) has recently produced an excellent summary of archaeological research concerning Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene sites in northern Alabama. Evidence of Paleo-Indian occupation in the Middle Tennessee Valley was first substantiated by Frank Soday (1953) with his report on the Quad site. This extensive habitation locality has yielded some two hundred fluted points and thousands of other artifacts and is one of the most significant Paleo-Indian sites yet discovered in North America (Hubbert 1989). The search for stratified early sites led researchers during the 1950s to begin the exploration of rock shelters. The revelation that rock shelters could contain ancient, deeply stratified deposits was brought home by publications of the results of research at Graham Cave in Missouri, Modoc Rock Shelter in Illinois, and Russell Cave and the Flint Creek Rock Shelter in the uplands above the Tennessee Valley in northern Alabama (Broyles 1958; Cambron and Hulse 1959,



Figure 17.1. WPA excavations at sites Ma31 and Ma32, Tennessee River Valley, Alabama, 1940. (Courtesy of Alabama Museum of Natural History)

1960; Griffin 1974; Miller 1956; Walthall 1998). Each of these shelters contained substantial evidence of initial occupations by Early Holocene Dalton groups (10,500–10,000 B.P.) as well as deposits left by subsequent Holocene peoples.

The success of these excavations led to the development of several major and long-term rock shelter research programs. One of the most notable of these projects was organized by David DeJarnette in cooperation with the Alabama Archaeological Society. Beginning in 1960, three field seasons of excavations were conducted at the huge Stanfield-Worley Rock Shelter, which yielded evidence of major Early to Middle Holocene deposits (DeJarnette et al. 1962). DeJarnette and his students continued to explore regional Tennessee Valley rock shelters throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Clayton 1965; DeJarnette and Knight 1976; Hollingsworth 1991; Stowe 1970).

Most recently, excavations led by Boyce Driskell of the Alabama Museum of Natural History at the deeply stratified Dust Cave site in northwestern Alabama have yielded well-dated evidence of intensive Early Holocene occupations. This shelter, located in the limestone bluffs on the edge of the Tennessee River floodplain, was inhabited as early as 10,500 B.P. The careful excavation and well-organized interdisciplinary studies at Dust Cave are producing significant new data concerning human adaptation to early postglacial environmental change (Driskell 1996; Goldman-Finn and Driskell 1994).

Archaeological investigations during the first half of the twentieth century indicated that the Middle Tennessee Valley was the homeland of a distinctive Middle Woodland cultural sequence from which emerged the regional Copena mortuary complex (Cole 1981; Futato 1989). The post-World War II study of Middle Tennessee Valley Middle Woodland developments began in 1971 when John Walthall, then a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, began research for his doctoral dissertation on Copena. Walthall analyzed material from Copena mounds and related habitation sites that had been excavated during the TVA/WPA archaeological effort. As part of this study, additional surveys were conducted, and various caves that contained Copena burials were explored and recorded (Walthall 1973, 1979; Walthall and DeJarnette 1974). New radiocarbon dates and analysis of artifact styles confirmed C. B. Moore's recognition of a cultural tie between these Tennessee Valley peoples and Hopewellian societies in the Midwest. Trace element analyses of Copena galena and copper artifacts demonstrated the existence of a widely flung exchange network extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf Coast (Goad 1977, 1979; Walthall et al. 1980).

Subsequent field and laboratory work has added a wealth of exciting new data that will significantly inform interpretations of this fascinating Middle Woodland mortuary expression (Beck 1995; Cole 1981; Knight 1990). For example, TVA/WPA excavations conducted at the Walling site revealed that one of the earthworks there, a flat-topped, substructure mound, was possibly associated with the Copena Middle Woodland component (Walthall 1973, 1985). Jim Knight's later excavations substantiated this interpretation, and Walling is now recognized as one of an increasing number of pre-Mississippian substructure mounds in the Southeast (Knight 1990).

The most spectacular new data concerning Copena centers on the large mound and circular earthen enclosure located at Florence on the north bank of the Tennessee River. This mound has long been thought to have been a major Mississippian earthwork, an interpretation based largely on its size and general shape. Recent test excavations by Jim Knight and some of his graduate students has shown that, incredibly, this huge mound dates to the Middle Woodland period and was perhaps the major Copena ceremonial center, rivaling in size some of the Ohio Valley earthworks (Boudreaux and Johnson 1998). The recognition that this mound dates to the Middle Woodland period indicates that the Copena complex, which was previously known mainly from modest-sized conical burial mounds, must now be viewed in a totally new light. A renewed effort to interpret this regional Hopewellian expression must now be made and its place in the Hopewellian Interaction Sphere reevaluated.

Archaeological research over the final quarter of the twentieth century in the Middle Tennessee Valley has added important new information to the data

base established during the Depression era by the legions of TVA/WPA workers. Much of this most recent work has been sponsored by the Tennessee Valley Authority (Futato 1983; Goldman-Finn and Driskell 1994; Krause 1989; Oakley and Futato 1975), continuing a particularly fruitful partnership between government and archaeology, a cooperative effort that began some seventy years ago when modern archaeology was in its infancy and a young man named David DeJarnette was just beginning his career.

The Black Warrior River

The Black Warrior River is an eastern tributary of the Tombigbee, a part of the large Alabama-Tombigbee River watershed that drains southward into the Gulf of Mexico at Mobile Bay. The present discussion concerns that portion of the Black Warrior River that lies south of the fall line at Tuscaloosa. Here the Black Warrior enters a meandering regime within a wide alluvial valley cutting southward through the Fall Line Hills. Occupying one of the few higher terraces of Pleistocene age is the Moundville site, which has been the focus of substantial archaeology in this century. Because there are a number of very admirable published summaries of the history of Moundville area archaeology (e.g., Peebles 1981; Steponaitis 1983:6–9), this chapter merely touches on the highlights, with some minor amendments, and brings the narrative up to the present.

The Moundville site, situated on a bluff of the river, covers about 75 hectares (185 acres) of continuous occupied area and contains at least twenty-nine mounds. The most prominent mounds of this great Mississippian site are arranged around the margins of a quadrilateral plaza, within which one large mound defines the center. Surrounding the plaza in the off-mound areas are zones of habitation and cemeteries, some of which are large. Encompassing the whole is evidence of a bastioned palisade.

As in the Tennessee Valley, the first major phase of research at Moundville is connected with the name of Clarence B. Moore, who worked there in 1905 and 1906 (Moore 1905b, 1907a). Moore succeeded in getting access to the site where some of his immediate predecessors had failed. During 1882 and 1883, James Middleton and Edward Palmer, both field agents of the Bureau of Mound Exploration, had visited Moundville but were denied permission to excavate by the landowners. Palmer wrote to his employer, Cyrus Thomas, telling him that the site was hostage to bidding by several interested parties wanting permission to dig. Palmer estimated that under the circumstances at least one hundred dollars would be needed to outbid the others, which Thomas declined to send (Weiss 1998:31). Coming some twenty-two years later, Clarence Moore does not divulge whether any such bounty had to be paid.

In all, Moore documented 801 burials, with grave goods including hundreds of pottery vessels and other examples of Moundville art in stone, copper, and shell (Peebles 1981). These collections are now largely housed at the National Museum of the American Indian. Moore's published works on Moundville, recently reprinted (Knight 1996), arguably document the high water mark of his long career in archaeology. Such was the impression made by his discoveries that a companion article written for *Harper's Monthly Magazine* pronounced Moundville "the Rome of this portion of the world, devout, wealthy, beauty-loving" (Wardle 1906:210).

A second major phase of research followed acquisition of the site by the Alabama Museum of Natural History. The Depression years saw numerous excavations at Moundville beginning in 1930 and continuing up to the outbreak of World War II in 1941. A detailed history of these excavations still needs to be written.

In overall charge of the Alabama Museum of Natural History excavations was Walter B. Jones, State Geologist and the Museum's second director. After initial explorations in January 1930 revealed intact cemeteries in several areas, Jones expressed his delight that there was anything left to find, pronouncing Moore's prior work "slip-shod, in that he left about half of the skeletons and artifacts for us" (Jones 1932). Jones's field procedures initially differed little from those of his predecessor, focusing on cemeteries and the recovery of grave accompaniments, but they gradually incorporated such refinements as plane table mapping of burials and hearths and the systematic photography of finds. Generally, crews of two to eight laborers were employed at fifty cents per day, under the supervision of Jones and other Museum employees, including David L. DeJarnette. In 1932 DeJarnette, the Museum's curator, completed his formal training in archaeological methods at the University of Chicago field school, after which more up-to-date protocols were introduced at Moundville.

Although Moundville archaeology of the 1930s era is habitually thought of as synonymous with the involvement of Depression relief labor, in fact such assistance came rather late in the decade, after many areas of the site and hundreds of burials had already been excavated by the Museum. A good summary of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) work at the Moundville site has been written by Joy Baklanoff and Arthur Howington (1989). The first "side camp" stationed at Moundville, named Camp Baltzell, had a fifty-man contingent and was established in November 1934. Eventually this was replaced by a full camp of two hundred workers in June 1938. Under the oversight of the National Park Service, most of the archaeological work of the CCC was confined to salvage archaeology within the footprints of projected park facilities, and this work was of a different character than the unassisted efforts of the Alabama Museum of Natural History in previous years. Most of the CCC labor was devoted to non-archaeological tasks, including clearing, mound resto-

ration, construction of check dams and drainage systems, sodding, building construction, road work, and other facility installations related to the creation of what is now Moundville Archaeological Park. Although nowadays David DeJarnette's name tends to be automatically associated with Moundville archaeology during the 1930s, it should be remembered that during the heyday of CCC involvement, DeJarnette was an archaeologist "on loan" to the Tennessee Valley Authority and was occupied elsewhere. Much, if not most, of the Moundville fieldwork was actually supervised by others, such as James DeJarnette and Maurice Goldsmith.

The Alabama Museum of Natural History during the 1930s did not neglect the archaeology of other key sites in the Black Warrior Valley. Important excavations were conducted at Snows Bend (DeJarnette and Peebles 1970), White (Welch 1991), Lon Robertson (Jones 1932), and Pride Place (Johnson 1999), among others. The Lon Robertson excavations, in particular, provided an early glimpse of a site of the protohistoric "Burial Urn Culture" now assigned to the Moundville IV phase. Follow-up research at the localities just named has enriched our knowledge of Black Warrior Valley sites removed in space and time from Moundville.

In the post-World War II years, an enormous resource of excavated artifacts and records from the Depression years lay practically dormant at the Moundville site, curated by David DeJarnette in a laboratory facility erected there in 1947. These collections and records were to become the focus of the third major initiative in Moundville archaeology.

This third initiative was sparked by the dissertation research of two individuals, first Douglas H. McKenzie (1964) and then Christopher S. Peebles (1974), both abetted locally by David DeJarnette. Neither actually excavated at Moundville but based their work on the curated collections and records. McKenzie's unpublished Harvard dissertation, written under the direction of Stephen Williams, has been largely neglected. This is rather unfortunate in that McKenzie's work includes valuable comparative summaries of artifacts and features and a relatively detailed statistical analysis of pottery vessel dimensions, among other contributions. Under a culture-historical frame of reference, McKenzie defined the Moundville phase in light of its traits, dated it by several lines of evidence at circa A.D. 1250 to 1500, and speculated that it owed its origin to migrations of people out of the Memphis area of the Mississippi Valley. In contrast, Peebles's later dissertation research, completed at the University of California at Santa Barbara under the direction of Albert Spaulding, was strongly influenced by then-prevalent conceptions of cultural ecology and cultural evolution. The thrust of that study was a demonstration, following the work of Lewis Binford and Art Saxe on mortuary traits (see J. Brown 1971), that Moundville's social order conformed to that of a chiefdom as defined by Elman Service or a ranked society in the terminology of Morton Fried (Peebles 1974).

Recognizing the richness of the Depression-era excavation records, Peebles compiled what he later referred to as a “site report,” a twelve-hundred-page document that contains transcribed Depression-era field records from most of the major excavations at Moundville, plus a reorganization of Clarence B. Moore’s data, arranged by site area with brief introductions to these excavations (Peebles 1979).

Following up on his dissertation research, Peebles successfully obtained a National Science Foundation grant in 1978 that boldly attempted to fill in many perceived gaps in Moundville’s archaeological record. Among its contributions were new stratigraphic excavations undertaken at Moundville including, for the first time, fine-scale recovery of faunal and botanical remains. These were to be studied by Lauren M. Michals and C. Margaret Scarry. Using the curated skeletal collections, Peebles and Margaret J. Schoeninger studied the relationship between status and diet by measuring strontium levels in bone. Later, Mary L. Powell completed a much broader study of health and status using the skeletal collections. A new survey of outlying Moundville sites was undertaken by Tandy K. Bozeman, with subsequent research on outlying sites undertaken in the 1980s by Paul D. Welch. Of extraordinary importance was the achievement of an internal chronology for Moundville, based on a study of whole pottery vessels by Vincas P. Steponaitis and a grave lot seriation of certain burials based on that analysis. One result of all of this research during the 1970s and 1980s, and the offshoot studies generated from it, was that Moundville achieved broad renown as an archaeological epitome of a chiefdom-type society, as it is referred to in various texts to the present day. A full list of references to studies conducted between 1977 and 1993 can be found in *Archaeology of the Moundville Chiefdom* (Knight and Steponaitis 1998). That collection of papers, based on a 1993 symposium, emphasizes updates deriving from refinements in the Moundville chronology.

University of Alabama field schools have been a part of Black Warrior Valley archaeology since 1956–57, when David DeJarnette taught a class west of Mound R at Moundville. Subsequent field schools were taught by DeJarnette at Mound M in 1970–71 (Astin 1996) and north of Mound R in 1972–75. Following DeJarnette’s retirement, University of Alabama field schools were taught by Richard A. Krause at two outlying sites: Asphalt Plant Mound in 1976 (Steponaitis 1992) and at the Powers site in 1981, 1988, and 1991 (Welch 1998:146–148). Field schools were taught by John A. Walthall west of Mound P at Moundville in 1976 and at the outlying Taylor site in 1977. Joseph O. Vogel taught a series of field schools focusing on the Moundville palisade system east of Mound G from 1978 to 1984 (Vogel and Allan 1985), and Boyce N. Driskell taught a field school in 1988, testing the plaza, the east flank of Mound P, and the summit of Mound C.

Between 1989 and 1999, University of Alabama field schools at Moundville have been taught annually by V. J. Knight. These consecutive field schools were engaged in a long-term research project focusing on the mounded public architecture at the site. Funding for the project was provided by the National Science Foundation. In the course of it, new large-scale summit excavations were conducted in Mounds Q and E, with smaller trenches placed into mounds A, F, G, R, and V. The project had two overall aims, the first of which was to build a chronology of earthwork construction for Moundville to test notions about the deliberateness of site layout and its timing. In amassing new radiocarbon evidence from numerous contexts, the project supported the conclusion that most mound building was early in Moundville's history and was spotty thereafter. The second overall aim was to assemble data on summit architecture and associated elite midden deposits in mound contexts containing human burials and those lacking them. Excavations on Mound Q, which does contain human burials, uncovered a series of buildings with associated evidence of consumption of provisioned foods and the manufacture of elite craft goods. Excavations on Mound E, which does not contain human burials, uncovered the remains of a "great house" and associated enclosures, strongly reminiscent of Stirling phase architecture at Cahokia (Ryba 1997). Publication of this research is forthcoming.

A most promising recent development is the engagement of a new generation of scholars who are building on the large foundation of previous research in this area. Exemplifying this trend is a series of theses prepared at the University of Alabama. Robyn L. Astin (1996) has examined the chronology and use of Mound M, and Elizabeth A. Ryba (1997) has completed a comparative study of Mound E architecture at Moundville. Julie G. Markin (1997) has written a summary of elite stoneworking in different functional contexts at the site. Kristi E. Taft (1996) has completed an analysis of pottery vessel shapes and their functional correlates. Hyla L. Lacefield (1995), Kevin E. Schatte (1997), and Judith L. Gillies (1998) have analyzed the style and iconography of engraved pottery at Moundville. Currently under way are studies of the use of copper at Moundville by Katherine McGhee-Snow, Moundville's economic structure by Jon B. Marcoux, and the distribution of small outlying settlements in the Black Warrior Valley by Scott W. Hammerstedt. This scholarly activity is a sure sign that the Black Warrior River Valley will continue to attract the attention of archaeologists into the next century.

Colonial Archaeology along Alabama's Coast and Rivers

The beginning of sustained archaeological interest in Alabama's colonial period coincides roughly with the turn of the twentieth century. Clarence B.

Moore's investigations along the banks of the Alabama River in 1899 brought to light a number of aboriginal "urn-burials," some small percentage of which contained European-made glass beads. In the north end of the valley, at the Charlotte Thompson Mound in Montgomery County, Moore developed a compelling case from the distribution of iron, glass, and brass artifacts throughout the mound that it was of "post-Columbian origin" (Moore 1899a:295, 320).

That foray by the Philadelphia archaeologist, and Moore's subsequent expeditions to Moundville in 1905 and 1906 and around Mobile Bay (Moore 1905a), inspired the formation of the Alabama Anthropological Society in 1909 (Waselkov 1994). The society consisted of amateur historians and archaeologists from the Montgomery area, including Herbert Battle and Henry Halbert, both of whom had published important articles on early historic Southeastern Indians. One of the society's earliest field projects involved excavations of urn burials at Pintlala Creek, south of Montgomery, which led to sustained excavations during the 1920s and 1930s at late prehistoric and early historic aboriginal sites in the lower Tallapoosa River valley, homeland to a portion of the Upper Creek Indians (Brannon 1935). Though notably lacking in scientific rigor, society members did accumulate a large collection of grave assemblages that have since proven useful for studies of Creek Indian culture change during the colonial period (Waselkov 1993, 1998; Waselkov and Sheldon 1987).

Modern scientific archaeological research on the Upper Creeks essentially began in 1948 with David DeJarnette's excavations at the Childersburg site on the middle Coosa River. John Swanton, Walter B. Jones, and other members of the U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission thought that the Childersburg site might be the sixteenth-century location of Coosa, principal town of the chiefdom of the same name. Confirmation of that suspicion would have helped anchor route reconstructions for both the Soto and Luna expeditions in the interior Southeast. DeJarnette's investigations (DeJarnette and Hansen 1960), however, conclusively demonstrated an eighteenth-century date for the Childersburg site and set the stage for a half-century of active research on historic Upper Creek sites in Alabama.

Charles Fairbanks brought a Florida State University field class to Horsehoe Bend National Battlefield Park, on the Tallapoosa River, in the summer of 1961 to investigate the scene of the climactic engagement of the Creek War of 1813–1814. He had maintained a long-standing interest in Lower Creek archaeology since his experience at Ocmulgee National Monument in the late 1930s, and he took advantage of this excursion into Alabama to visit and test other Upper Creek sites, such as Nuyaka and Tallassee. His collections from the latter eventually provided the means for Vernon J. Knight and Marvin T. Smith to identify several types of protohistoric (circa A.D. 1550–1700) Upper Creek ceramics (Knight and Smith 1980).

Meanwhile, Ross Morrell, a graduate student of DeJarnette's at the University of Alabama, directed a salvage excavation of a late-seventeenth-century Creek site on Woods Island in the middle Coosa River. In his published thesis, Morrell (1965) interpreted Creek material culture in terms of the acculturation model widely used at that time. More important, he tried to distinguish Spanish trade goods from English trade goods, beginning a process that eventually led to the higher level of temporal control necessary to understand the social implications of European trade.

After a decade-long lull in activity, archaeological research on historic Creek sites resumed, with a processual bent, in the mid-1970s when Roy Dickens re-investigated Nuyaka and Tohopeka at Horseshoe Bend. In their comparison of pottery forms at the two sites, Dickens and Chapman (1978) discerned functional differences between the sites. Vernon Knight's 1984 excavations at the outskirts of Tukabatchee, largest of the Upper Creek town sites, provided the first clear distinction of seventeenth-century (protohistoric) and eighteenth-century (early historic) assemblages from the lower Tallapoosa valley (Knight 1985). More recently, Knight drew on his Tukabatchee experience to explain the ethnogenesis of the Creeks during the early historic period (Knight 1994).

During the 1970s and 1980s, Marvin Smith (1987) studied aboriginal culture change in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century interior Southeast, focusing particularly on the Coosa River Valley of northeast Alabama. Through careful reanalysis of excavated assemblages and hard-won access to privately held artifact collections, Smith established a detailed chronological sequence of European trade goods, most of which evidently entered the region from Spanish Florida. He also argued for large-scale depopulation and a decline in chiefly authority in the aftermath of the Soto entrada. Greg Waselkov (1989b) correlated Smith's trade goods sequence with ethnohistorical documentary evidence to identify a substantial middleman trade in deerskins and other peltry during the protohistoric period between the missions of Spanish Florida and the native peoples of the interior Southeast. Smith has maintained an active interest in the protohistoric Coosa Valley, with a reexamination of the Woods Island site (Smith 1995) and a study of the Milner village site in northeastern Alabama (Smith et al. 1993).

Beginning in 1985, Waselkov collaborated with John W. Cottier and Craig T. Sheldon Jr. on a large-scale excavation (funded in part by the National Science Foundation) of Fusiatchee, a protohistoric and early historic Creek village in the lower Tallapoosa valley that was slowly destroyed by gravel quarrying. Sheldon and Cottier persistently continued salvage work until 1997, by which time approximately nine acres of village features had been excavated, the most complete plan view of a Creek settlement acquired to date. In addition to a preliminary report (Waselkov et al. 1990), several specialized analyses have appeared

in print, such as a paleoethnobotanical study by Kristen Gremillion (1995b) and Cameron Wesson's (1998) dissertation on culture change as observed at the household level. In addition, Barnet Pavao-Zuckerman is completing a dissertation on Fushatchee faunal remains. For a fuller treatment of historic Upper Creek archaeology in Alabama, see the recent review by Waselkov and Smith (2000).

Colonial archaeology in Alabama's Coastal Plain has developed almost entirely within the last thirty years, except for the occasional earlier mentions of glass beads and other European trade goods found in historic Indian contexts (e.g., Bigelow 1853). Serious consideration of historic aboriginal sites in that region began with the appearance of Craig Sheldon's dissertation on the Burial Urn culture (comprising the Alabama River, Moundville IV, and other related phases; Curren 1984), which Sheldon firmly placed in the protohistoric period. In the vicinity of the Mobile-Tensaw delta, north of Mobile Bay, looters discovered urn burials in 1981 at the Pine Log Creek mound, a Bear Point phase site dating to the late sixteenth century. Threat of prosecution by the State of Alabama led to retrieval of the looted material, including some Spanish artifacts attributable to the Luna expedition of 1559–1561 (Stowe 1982). Landowner opposition, unfortunately, has prevented further work at this important site.

Most recently, Diane Silvia has excavated two early-eighteenth-century Indian structures in the Mobile area for her Tulane University dissertation (Silvia 1998). One house stood adjacent to, and was contemporaneous with, the French colonial townsite of Old Mobile (1702–1711), and the second, later house occupied the top of Mound L at the Bottle Creek site (Brown and Fuller 1993). Silvia's research provides the only in-depth examination of early colonial contact from a native perspective; her data indicate a very gradual acceptance of European material culture and a tendency to retain a separate traditional lifestyle and ethnic identity while developing close trade and social ties with colonists.

Limited archaeological testing of a late-seventeenth-century Spanish fort on the Chattahoochee River occurred in June 1960, directed by Lewis Larson (Kurjack and Pearson 1975). The first major excavation of a European colonial site in Alabama occurred between 1967 and 1972 in downtown Mobile at the site of Fort Condé (also known as Fort Charlotte and Fort Carlota, 1711–1820). Donald A. Harris and Jerry J. Nielsen, working for the University of Alabama, conducted salvage excavations in the first archaeological mitigation of a federal highway project in the state, in preparation for the construction of the Interstate-10 Wallace Tunnel under the Mobile River. Harris and Nielsen (1972) managed to recover data from French, British, Spanish, and American features at the fort while working under very difficult, and sometimes hostile, conditions in a community that still undervalues historic preservation.

With the approach of the bicentennial of the American Revolution, Alabama legislators decided that a reconstruction of Fort Toulouse, a French colonial military outpost on the Coosa River north of Montgomery, should be the state's bicentennial project. Initial excavations at the second site of the fort (dating from 1751–1763) by Donald P. Heldman (1973, 1976) resulted in some confusion with the later, superimposed features of Fort Jackson, built in 1814. Subsequent efforts to correct the earlier interpretive errors included six seasons of excavations directed by archaeologists from the Alabama Historical Commission, Auburn University at Montgomery, and the University of Alabama between 1979 and 1987 (Brooms and Parker 1980; Waselkov 1984, 1992; Waselkov et al. 1982). That research revealed the plans of both versions of Fort Toulouse, as well as Fort Jackson, and accumulated abundant evidence for the mutual dependence that arose between French colonists there and the Alabama Indians among whom they lived between 1717 and 1763 (Waselkov 1989a).

Other important colonial site excavations include Noel R. Stowe's investigation of the early-eighteenth-century French fort on Dauphin Island (Stowe 1977); James W. Parker's extensive testing of predominantly Spanish-colonial features at the site of Fort Tombeché (also known as Fort York [1736–1768] and Fort Confederation [1793–1797] [Parker 1982]); and mitigation by John Cottier and Craig Sheldon of French colonial officers' quarters adjacent to Fort Condé prior to construction of an annex to the Mobile County Courthouse (Sheldon and Cottier 1983).

In 1989 archaeologists from the University of South Alabama started a long-term research program at the site of Old Mobile, original capital of French colonial Louisiana from 1702 until 1711 and the oldest planned European community on the northern Gulf Coast. An intensive shovel test survey of the seventy-acre site has identified remains of at least fifty-five structures, nine of which have been partially or completely excavated (Waselkov 1991, 1999). Supported in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundation, and the State of Alabama, the Old Mobile Project will continue in the foreseeable future; presently under way is a search for Fort Louis, near the center of the settlement. Other University of South Alabama colonial research includes an excavation in 1997, directed by George W. Shorter Jr., of a structure in Port Dauphin village, on Dauphin Island, dating to circa 1715–1725; an intensive excavation from 1994 to 1996 of Pierre Rochon's plantation (circa 1725–1848) at Dog River, near Mobile Bay; and continuing investigations by Bonnie L. Gums of the Augustin Rochon plantation (circa 1750–1780) on the eastern shore of the bay. This intensive program of research on colonial European sites in the Mobile vicinity promises to continue apace and has already yielded much new information on architecture, subsistence, intercolonial trade, and interethnic relations.

Summary

Looking back over the development of Alabama archaeology in the twentieth century, we can identify several significant chronological and developmental trends. The first quarter of the century was a period of initial, widespread exploration of the state's archaeological resources. C. B. Moore surveyed riverine and coastal sites, and the published results of his excavations stimulated considerable interest in local prehistory, including the founding of the Alabama Anthropological Society.

The second quarter of the century was dominated by the Depression era. This economic downturn spurred government-sponsored construction projects including the building of several huge hydroelectric dams in the Tennessee Valley. Archaeologists trained in scientific field techniques supervised these massive excavations and formulated the basic, stratigraphic-based cultural sequences for regional prehistoric developments. During the period between the world wars the Alabama Museum of Natural History was the driving force behind statewide archaeological survey, including excavations at Moundville and related sites and in the Mobile Bay area.

David DeJarnette was the central figure in Alabama archaeology during the third quarter-century. This post-World War II era witnessed the founding of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Alabama and, beginning with DeJarnette's 1956 field season, the teaching of summer field school programs. The Alabama Archaeological Society was formed during this time, and the Society has been instrumental in advancing archaeology in the state through support of fieldwork and the publication of the *Journal of Alabama Archaeology*. Several large-scale contract archaeological projects were carried out or initiated during this period in connection with lock and dam construction sponsored by government agencies or private utilities, including the multi-year Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project (Jenkins and Krause 1986).

The final quarter of this past century, the beginning of the post-DeJarnette era, has been a time of tremendous change and program building. Major field projects, both contract and grant sponsored, are being conducted in every part of the state, from Dust Cave in the Tennessee Valley, to Moundville and Fusihatchee in the central part of the state, to Old Mobile near the Gulf Coast. Several universities in the state now have archaeologists on their staffs (many of them students of DeJarnette), and they are now training a new generation of students to carry on the investigation of the archaeology of Alabama.

18 A Personal Perspective on Georgia Archaeology at the End of the Twentieth Century

Lewis Larson

I have no doubt that the major moments in the history of Georgia archaeology are well known to many, almost certainly to those who presently have an interest in the archaeology of the state. The descriptions by Bartram of the mounds and middens that he saw along the coast and beside the rivers of Georgia (Harper 1958); Charles C. Jones's *Antiquities of the Southern Indians* (Jones 1873); the account by Cyrus Thomas of excavations at Etowah (Thomas 1887a, 1894); the Georgia coastal and river explorations of Clarence Moore (Moore 1887, 1899b, 1899c, 1907b); the examination of the Nacoochee Mound by George Heye (Heye, Hodge, and Pepper 1918) and that of the Stallings Island midden by William Claflin and Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Cosgrove (Claflin 1931); Moorehead at Etowah with his auger and mule scoop (Moorehead 1932:68–105); and finally the extensive and intensive federal archaeological programs at Ocmulgee, Irene, and elsewhere with Arthur Kelly, James Ford, Gordon Willey, Charles Fairbanks (Walker 1994), Preston Holder (Holder 1938), Joseph Caldwell (Caldwell and McCann 1941), Antonio Waring (Williams 1968), and Robert Wauchope (Wauchope 1966) have been discussed in detail in print by others several times. Therefore, my emphasis here will be a more or less personal one, relating what I have seen of this history and my reactions to it as it has unfolded in my time. This narration will almost certainly reflect my prejudices and a skewed perspective replete with errors.

The Claflin-funded Stallings Island excavation by Harvard University was probably the last major private, patron-supported, archaeological work in Georgia. It also proved to be a watershed in Georgia archaeology, occurring as it did on the eve of the Great Depression. From this time onward archaeological investigation was to accelerate, becoming increasingly more rigidly scientific

and to be carried out almost exclusively with public funds provided by one or another federal or state agencies.

Moreau Maxwell (1977:ix), speaking of North American archaeology generally, has described the situation very well: "The 1930s saw the virtual beginning of systematic North American archaeology. . . . By the thirties, there was a clear need for innovation in methods of collecting and synthesizing data. Suddenly North American archaeology became exciting as increasing information and a unique group of savants capable of organizing it coalesced." This was no less true of the Southeast or of Georgia specifically. The economic conditions of the 1930s resulted in the use of archaeology by federal and state agencies to alleviate high unemployment quickly and efficiently by providing jobs on various archaeological projects initiated throughout the state. This work brought professional archaeologists into the state, more or less permanently and in relatively large numbers, for the first time. Edwin A. Lyon (1996) has ably summarized the efflorescence of archaeology in the South under the social programs created by the New Deal under the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt. He specifically discusses the events and consequences of the federal programs in Georgia during the 1930s, and this summary is recommended to the reader (Lyon 1996:107–115). From this time on the state was to be the scene of almost continuous archaeological research. During the 1930s, community leaders in several areas of the state initiated archaeological investigations under professional direction using available federal funding for the creation of these projects. The investigation of the Ocmulgee Mounds is a case in point (Walker 1994:16–17).

The relative intensity of Georgia archaeological research during the decade of the 1930s ended all too soon. The entry of the United States into war with Japan, Germany, and their allies brought an abrupt end to all federal projects involving archaeology in Georgia. In effect, this meant that for all intents, there was an end to all archaeological work within the state. During the subsequent five war years, many of the archaeologists who worked in the state entered military service, while others assumed civilian roles in support of the conflict. Not only was there a sudden halt to archaeological fieldwork but also the reporting and synthesizing of the results of the federally sponsored archaeological projects remained in limbo. In some instances, the project reports were completed after the war. Unfortunately, efforts to complete reports for a number of important projects were abandoned as those responsible took up new positions in other parts of the country. In many instances, the missing reports are the unfortunate result of an inability to locate lost artifacts and records. These were losses that attended the haste with which projects were abandoned and a lack of custodial accountability for the collections during the war years.

Within a few years of the end of global hostilities, archaeological activity

had resumed in Georgia. In 1944 Arthur Kelly had been assigned to the Ocmulgee site as custodian by the National Park Service, where he remained throughout the closing years of the war. In 1947 Kelly secured a faculty appointment at the University of Georgia and established a department of anthropology at that institution, the first such department and program in the state (Walker 1994:28–30). From his position at the University of Georgia and as a result of the network of local contacts that he had developed while he was at the Ocmulgee site, Kelly was able to persuade state officials that archaeological work was a necessary aspect of the development of Kolomoki as a state park and to secure River Basin Surveys funding for his field schools. William H. Sears was selected by Kelly to carry out the actual archaeological fieldwork at Kolomoki. Sears spent five seasons, from 1948 through 1953, engaged in the survey and testing of the site and in the excavation of two burial mounds within its boundaries (Sears 1951a, 1951b, 1953, 1956). Sears received his doctorate in 1951 and, by then, was appointed to the faculty in the new Department of Anthropology at the University of Georgia.

Charles Fairbanks rejoined the National Park Service in 1946 after leaving the army earlier that year. He then published an archaeological description of the earthlodge at the Ocmulgee Mounds (Fairbanks 1946). Ultimately, he wrote and published a description of the Funeral Mound at the Ocmulgee site (Fairbanks 1956). Within three months of rejoining the National Park Service, Fairbanks was assigned to Fort Frederica National Monument, where he initiated excavation of the eighteenth-century town associated with the colonial fortification (Walker 1994:28).

In 1949 and in 1950 Joseph Caldwell and Carl Miller of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, carried out survey and excavation within the projected Allatoona Reservoir area of the Etowah River (Caldwell 1950). One of the more important sites along the Etowah identified by Wauchope (1966:271–283, 453–455), the Wilbanks Farm site, was to be flooded by the reservoir impoundment, and consequently it was selected for more extensive salvage excavation, funded in part by the University of Georgia. After completing his first season of work at the Kolomoki site during the summer of 1948, Sears carried out the excavation of the mound at the Wilbanks Farm during the fall of the same year and the spring of the following year (Sears 1950, 1958). This work by Sears and the earlier Etowah drainage investigations by Wauchope resulted in a series of papers that established a preliminary cultural and ceramic sequence for the Etowah River valley and northwest Georgia (Fairbanks 1950; Sears 1950; Wauchope 1948).

At about this time I became a participant observer of Georgia archaeological activity. How did I get to Georgia? To go back a few years, after my discharge from the U.S. Navy in June of 1946, I entered the University of Minnesota as

an undergraduate, and in the following summer I enrolled in the archaeological field school of that institution. The next summer, 1948, I was selected by David DeJarnette and Steve Wimberly to be a field assistant during the excavation of the presumptive site of Soto's Coosa at Childersburg, Alabama (DeJarnette and Hansen 1960). During the following summer of 1949, Arthur Kelly asked me to be a field assistant at his field school to be held near Bainbridge, in the extreme southwestern corner of the state. This marked my actual arrival on the Georgia scene.

What was the status of Georgia archaeology at the time of my arrival? There was one resident professional archaeologist, Arthur Kelly at the University of Georgia, shortly to be joined by William Sears. Several Smithsonian Institution's River Basin Surveys archaeologists were regular transients in the state, particularly Joseph Caldwell and Carl Miller. A third Smithsonian regular, Harold Husher, came to the state several years later during the River Basin Surveys investigations of the Walter F. George Reservoir. At the time that I am writing this, there are probably more than fifty individuals in Georgia who identify themselves as professional archaeologists, including a significant number of women.

In 1949, there was but a single undergraduate degree program in anthropology in the state. That program was at the University of Georgia in Athens. There were no graduate programs in anthropology at any state institution. Now, incidentally, there are no less than five degree-granting programs in Georgia. Anthropology at the University of Georgia is now distinguished by a doctoral program in the discipline.

In 1949, funding for archaeological fieldwork came from three sources: the federal government, solely through the River Basin Surveys program; the University of Georgia, where Kelly received a portion of the annual funding for his field school via the University Extension program; and the State of Georgia, through the Georgia Parks Department that funded the Kolomoki excavations of Sears. In order to deal with the materials generated by their field operations, Kelly and Sears set up an archaeological laboratory in the basement of Old College, a handsome nineteenth-century brick structure and the oldest building on the campus, dating from 1801. This was the first of several archaeological laboratories that now exist in the state.

After eleven years, little remained administratively or physically of the relatively brief Wauchope presence at the University of Georgia. The war years on the campus had turned attention and responsibility away from anthropology so that, in effect, Kelly, later with the assistance of Sears, was really starting to build the program at the university from scratch. Considering that the war had ended only three years previously and that he was beginning with little or nothing on which to build, Kelly made a strong start in the development of the an-

thropology program, a program that, with the interest and energy of many others over the years, has expanded and strengthened to become one of the most important in the region today.

The Georgia Historical Commission, a newly created state agency in 1951, was charged with the preservation by acquisition of historic sites within the state. The purchase of the Etowah site was one the first actions of the Commission. From 1953 until 1973 the Commission funded extensive excavations on various sites that were its management responsibility. These sites included not only prehistoric sites such as Etowah but also historic colonial, antebellum, and Civil War sites. In addition the Commission, in cooperation with the Georgia Highway Department, began highway salvage in 1957. The responsibilities and functions of the Historical Commission were assumed by the Georgia Department of Natural Resources in 1973 when the Commission was dissolved during the reorganization of state government while Jimmy Carter was governor.

I was employed by the Historical Commission to undertake a coastal archaeological survey during the summer of 1951 to complement the excavations then under way at Fort King George, a presumptive sixteenth-century Spanish mission site (Caldwell 1954). The primary task of my survey was to locate other sites of the Spanish mission period. Unfortunately, during the early years of its operation, the Historical Commission had no field equipment of any kind. There was no vehicle or camera; there were no quadrangle sheets; and, in the coastal area with hundreds of tidal streams lacing the marshes and separating one high ground area from the next, there was no boat. Furthermore, there was no way in which equipment could be purchased—the budget allowed money for personnel and operating expenses, but there was none for capital outlay. I had to provide my own vehicle and camera, and I was constantly borrowing maps and charts and begging boat rides in order to get to the marsh and barrier islands where I had permission to work. During my coastal activity, including the excavation of the Sapelo Shell Ring (Waring and Larson 1968), I developed a horrendous allergic reaction to arachnids. Consequently, I also acquired an encyclopedic knowledge of folk remedies used for protection from and treatment of tick and red bug bites, none of which actually worked.

Thus I came to Georgia and to Georgia archaeology. I have spent my professional life in Georgia. As a result, I have had an opportunity to observe and experience archaeology and anthropology in the state for slightly more than a half-century. Therefore, if for no other reason (perhaps the only reason) than that I have been professionally involved in Georgia longer than any of my present colleagues, I might be permitted to comment in a somewhat broader context on local anthropology and archaeology as it has developed.

One observation I wish to make here is that there were relatively few departments of anthropology in the Southeast during the years immediately follow-

ing the Second World War. Furthermore, within the region there were few anthropologists in any academic position at a public university. Interestingly, where there were anthropologists at universities, they were without exception archaeologists. Within the next decade, that of the 1950s, when more anthropologists joined these and other Southeastern faculties, these anthropologists were also, with few if any exceptions, archaeologists.

I believe that the reason for the emphasis on archaeology in the South-east lay in the manner in which anthropology was perceived in the segregated South. Here, where the state legislatures controlled university budgets, archaeology was “safe” anthropology. It was possible to establish anthropology departments where the focus was on local prehistory without creating a backlash in the several state houses. Departments with physical anthropologists who would discuss evolution and racial equality or with social anthropologists who would lecture on cultural relativism were almost certain to set legislative teeth on edge and produce dire consequences for the university budget. On the other hand, there was a long tradition of local interest in the prehistory of the area. Furthermore, the Depression years had brought many individuals and localities into contact with archaeology and archaeologists. The latter were apparently not perceived as ivory tower academics but for the most part were viewed as rather rough hewn and willing-to-get-dirty sort of folks who were often able to keep up with the natives in the consumption of locally produced illegal spirits. In other words, archaeologists were probably not the sort to bring down ringing denunciations from the legislative regulars. It was not until after the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision by the United States Supreme Court in 1954 and the accompanying social angst and political posturing that university departments offering anthropology’s traditional four fields were widely developed in the South.

In the late forties and during the fifties the type of field labor by which archaeology was carried out was to change significantly during the sixties and into the seventies. In the Truman and Eisenhower years the South was still characterized by a relatively large rural population that lived on family farms. For the most part, these farms were either a one-mule, single-family operation or a large land acreage operation with a sharecropping family or families working the land. Modern agribusiness in the United States, the agricultural production that became possible with the development of a very specialized and mechanized technology, came on rapidly following the end of World War II. It was thus with Georgia. In the years immediately after midcentury, agribusiness organization, technology, and methodology began to arrive in the South. It dramatically changed the social scene and with it much else, including the manner in which field archaeology was carried out. In the late 1940s and 1950s it was usually possible to recruit locally a sufficient labor force to conduct an

extensive excavation. These workers were typically farmers with their crops “laid-by” who were anxious for the short-term employment offered by a seasonal excavation. In addition, there were always out-of-work laborers, particularly those from the many mills of the collapsing southern textile industry. These workers were familiar with hard physical work and the extreme heat of the summers that were a reality of excavation, particularly as archaeology was carried on in the Southeast at that time. There were exceptions, of course, but in my experience, not only did the men work hard but also they quickly learned, in a matter of hours, the particular archaeological shovel techniques that were necessary to produce proper profiles, square unit corners, and excavate floor levels. In recent years, the excavation labor force has come to consist of undergraduate and graduate students seeking seasonal employment in addition to the backbone of the archaeological consulting firm labor force, the “shovel bums” or, as they are more formally designated, particularly on project bid proposals, archaeological technicians.

The availability of cheap labor meant that the excavation dollar went far. When I began excavating at the Etowah site, Bartow County in May 1954, I had an all-male crew of laborers. They were each paid \$0.90 per hour for a total of \$36.00 per forty-hour week. The crew size varied from week to week but usually consisted of fifteen to twenty men. As the field archaeologist, I was paid \$75 weekly. There was no per diem for anyone on the Etowah payroll, and at that time the State of Georgia did not pay into Social Security for any of its employees. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration may have been a gleam in the eyes of the enlightened, but its birth was a long way off in the 1950s. Twelve-foot standing profiles were not rare at Etowah during the excavation of Mound C nor were trenches eight or more feet deep. No one had a hard hat. There was a wooden water barrel with a single metal communal dipper. The need to relieve oneself utilized to advantage the heavy underbrush along the edge of the Etowah River. Obviously, all involved learned quickly, if they were ignorant of such, to identify poison ivy and the local pit viper species. I suspect that it would be difficult to carry on in that manner today given federal and state employment, safety, and hygiene regulations and concerns. I might mention also that the members of the crew were expected to provide their own transportation to and from the site.

Proceeding in this manner and under these conditions in the late 1940s and 1950s, it is easy to see that the archaeology dollar was largely devoted to moving dirt rather than utilizing the more sophisticated recovery techniques that were to be developed in later decades and in compliance with the soon-to-be burgeoning state and federal excavation regulations. Using the Etowah excavation with which I am familiar, I will note that, although there were minor differences in the size of the Mound C excavation budget from year to year, the five-



Figure 18.1. Etowah, excavations at Mound C, view north. (Courtesy of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources)

month excavation season was invariably budgeted at less than \$20,000. The excavation extended over six seasons and probably cost less than \$100,000. This compares favorably or unfavorably, depending on one's point of view, with a recent State of Georgia contract for a single season of excavation at a site in Towns County, Georgia, that cost close to seven times that amount. Certainly, fieldwork was more freewheeling three, four, and five decades ago, and I am certain that a review of these field activities and a reanalysis of the records and artifacts will result in much shaking of heads and scowls of disapproval, if not screams of anguish and frustration.

At the present time, much of Georgia archaeology is carried on as a consequence of the need for archaeology to bring about public and private agency compliance with federal and state legislation, particularly the Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Thus, with the exception of several university field schools, most archaeology in Georgia is now carried out by private, for-profit archaeological consulting firms. Furthermore, because it is largely carried out to meet the legal requirements of compliance, archaeology is of necessity regulated, some would say severely so, by federal and state bureaucracies. In addition, leg-

isolation affecting archaeology continues to be promulgated. Among the laws of the last decade, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 has, for all intents and purposes, made the professional excavation of Indian mortuary contexts impossible. The result has been to place an important source of cultural data beyond the reach of the anthropologist.

On the brighter side, today most federal and state bureaucracies have come to have important conservation functions. They are much more involved in the preservation of archaeological sites than ever before. Fifty years ago, or even as recently as twenty years ago, there were but few federal or state agencies that were concerned about archaeological sites or the effect that their agency actions might have on sites. That situation has changed profoundly. Most federal agencies are well aware of their responsibilities under the Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and adhere to the procedures established for CFR (Code of Federal Regulations) 106 compliance. In Georgia, legislation has been enacted that parallels the federal laws and that imposes similar responsibilities on state agencies.

Finally, I must point out the existence of the Society for Georgia Archaeology. The organization was first brought into existence in the 1930s as a consequence of the burgeoning interest in the prehistory of the state that attended the large-scale excavation of the Ocmulgee and Irene sites. The Society languished and then disappeared during the years of the Second World War. In 1950, with a renewed interest in Georgia archaeology marked by the River Basin Surveys activity in reservoir projects on the Chattahoochee, Etowah, and Savannah Rivers and Georgia Parks Department development of the Kolomoki Mounds, Arthur Kelly attempted to revive the organization. Two volumes of *Early Georgia*, the journal of the Society, consisting of five numbers were published between 1950 and 1957. At the end of the 1950s the organization again entered an eclipse only to emerge once more, with greater vigor, in the early 1970s. By 1975 publication of the journal was resumed and continues to the present with some twenty-seven volumes now printed and distributed to the membership. The organization as a whole meets twice yearly and has various chapters located in different parts of the state. The Society is an important mechanism for interaction between the profession and the interested lay public. The existence of the Society for Georgia Archaeology is further evidence of the manner and quality of the development of archaeology in the state over the past fifty years. This is a development that bodes well for the future of the discipline in the state and for archaeology generally.

As I look back on my fifty years of involvement with Georgia archaeology, I can see that there has been great change, most of it for the best. The individuals who were important to Georgia and Southeastern archaeology when I arrived in the state are gone, and they have been replaced by many others who

seem to have things well under control. There is every reason to believe that there will continue to be progress in the field, that regulation of fieldwork will grow ever tighter, and that there will continue to be greater individual specialization as the technology utilized by archaeologists becomes ever more complex.

19 Florida Archaeology

A Recent History

Jerald T. Milanich

My own entry into archaeology dates to the late spring of 1966 when, as a junior in college, I enrolled in a University of Florida archaeological field school held at the Fort Center site in Glades County, Florida, just west of Lake Okeechobee. At the time, Florida archaeology as a field of study was quite different from what it is today. Of most note, there were literally only a handful of doctoral-level archaeologists working in Florida, and not a single Florida university offered a doctoral degree in anthropology, though Florida State University had enjoyed nearly a decade and a half of offering master's degrees, as had the University of Florida.

Three years earlier, in 1963, John M. Goggin, then a professor at the University of Florida, had died, and Charles H. Fairbanks had moved from Florida State University to replace him. Hale G. Smith remained at Florida State University, while Roger T. Grange taught at the relatively new University of South Florida in Tampa. That same year, 1963, William H. Sears, a colleague of Ripley P. Bullen at the Florida State Museum (today the Florida Museum of Natural History), departed the museum to become the founding chair of Florida Atlantic University's anthropology department. Like the University of South Florida, Florida Atlantic was a new campus.

The National Park Service's Southeast Archeological Center, headed by John W. Griffin, was still in Macon, Georgia, and what would become the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management existed only on paper. The Florida legislature had yet to appropriate funds for its operation.

The potential of Florida archaeology that had been so bright at the onset of the 1950s when John Griffin initiated various projects as archaeologist with the Florida Park Service (e.g., Griffin 1949) and John Goggin and Hale Smith had been hired at universities in Gainesville and Tallahassee, respectively, remained

unfulfilled. The demise of the Florida Park Service's archaeology division in 1953 and Griffin's subsequent switch to the National Park Service had left a void that even John Goggin's numerous field projects could not fill. Still, with the founding of new academic anthropology programs at South Florida in Tampa and Florida Atlantic in Boca Raton and the shift of Charles Fairbanks to the University of Florida, archaeology in Florida was about to embark on a long period of expansion.

As an undergraduate archaeology student digging under Fairbanks's tutelage at the Fort Center site—a project for which funding had been secured from the National Science Foundation by William Sears (I think the first NSF grant awarded for archaeology in Florida)—I was blissfully unaware of the history and politics of Florida archaeology and the personalities involved, and I knew nearly nothing about Florida's past, especially the history of its Native American population. That 1966 field session and a second at the same site the next year, however, introduced me to the publications not only of Bullen, Fairbanks, Goggin, Grange, Griffin, Sears, and Smith but also of Clarence B. Moore, Gordon R. Willey, and a host of others.

In the fall of 1967, I entered graduate school at the University of Florida and unwittingly became a participant in what would be a decade and a half of change and growth in Florida archaeology. Shortly after I began working on a master's degree, the University of Florida initiated Florida's first doctoral program in anthropology. I completed my master's thesis on the Alachua culture, which incorporated information from Woodward Village (Figure 19.1), in 1968. The first Ph.D. degree was granted in spring 1971 to Barbara A. Purdy, now professor emerita at her alma mater. I was granted the second Ph.D. in 1971, and, like Barbara, I specialized in Florida archaeology.

Academic archaeology was only one facet of Florida archaeology's expansion in the 1960s. In 1968 the Florida Division of Archives and History finally had a successful fiscal launching, and two years later the Division was up and running, enabling Florida to jump big time into cultural resource management. Today that state agency, now the Division of Historical Resources, remains a mainstay of archaeology in Florida. A short time later, in 1972, the National Park Service's Southeast Archeological Center moved from Macon, Georgia, to join the division in Tallahassee.

Over the next decade the number of archaeologists employed in Florida universities gradually increased, whereas the numbers employed in state agencies (largely the Division of Historical Resources) and in the National Park Service and other federal agencies grew dramatically as government laws and regulations regarding cultural resources were implemented, creating employment opportunities. Private firms who did archaeology also began to appear. The University of South Florida's emphasis on applied anthropology, including archaeology, provided experienced men and women to fill at least part of the



Figure 19.1. Charles Fairbanks contemplates a profile at the Woodward Village site (8Al48) in July 1969; graduate student Milanich takes notes. (Courtesy of Jerald T. Milanich)

demand. Other of Florida's universities were churning out graduate students with expertise in Florida archaeology.

The growth of archaeology in Florida between 1966 and 1980 was tremendous. Most remarkable was the increase in what once was nontraditional employment, that is, jobs in federal and state agencies and the private sector outside academia. Statistics indicate a sea change in the profession of archaeology. In 1963 nearly all of the less than a dozen professional archaeologists employed in Florida were at academic institutions. By 1981, 75 to 80 percent of the forty or so archaeologists in the state were employed in public archaeology, including nonacademic, governmental agencies (Milanich 1981:9). By 1981 what had been nontraditional had become the norm. Academic archaeologists, though more in number than in the past, had become a distinct minority in the field.

During the 1980s and 1990s the number of professional archaeologists continued to grow, though the relative percentages of public versus academic archaeologists remained almost stationary. Today the Florida Archaeological Council has eighty-three members, eight of whom are employed as full-time university faculty. Florida archaeology, indeed American archaeology, is not what it was in 1966.

Although I have distinguished between academic archaeology and public archaeology (aka cultural resource management or CRM), I believe the di-

chotomy between the two is a false one. Research is research, and resource management is resource management. Even though a public archaeology project may be initiated to inform a policy decision, the methods, models, and theories of archaeology, whether done by a private consultant, a museum curator, or a professor of historical archaeology, are the same. Policy archaeology has also become the realm of all archaeologists in Florida, whether employed by a private company or the State of Florida. One ignores CRM at one's professional peril.

Archaeology is a curious discipline, one with its head in scientific methodology and its heart in the humanities. It also is a discipline whose subject matter is of great interest to the general public, and it is a discipline whose database—the archaeological sites we study—is a finite resource.

These characteristics combine to imbue archaeology with a unique position among the disciplines in the humanities and sciences. Today an American archaeologist not only must be versed in his or her area of specialty (e.g., Florida archaeology) but also must be cognizant of the whys and wherefores of CRM as well as the necessity for communicating with the public. Archaeology today is a much more complex discipline than it was in 1966.

There is still another way in which Florida archaeology has changed since 1966. Prior to that year there were only about two double handfuls of graduate student theses based on research in Florida, most written by Florida State University students. Beginning in the late 1960s, however, the contributions of student archaeologists to our knowledge of Florida's past began to be a very significant source of new information. Today the number of graduate theses and dissertations on Florida topics is in the low hundreds.

The number of student-produced theses and dissertations can only increase. At any one time today, Florida universities with graduate programs in anthropology (Florida State University, the University of Florida, the University of West Florida, the University of South Florida, and Florida Atlantic University) together have more than sixty archaeology graduate students focusing on Florida research. Out-of-state schools also contribute graduate theses or dissertations. As a result, the amount of new knowledge being produced by graduate students is immense. Undergraduate student projects, such as those out of the University of South Florida at Sarasota (New College) and the University of North Florida, also contribute to Florida archaeology.

Archaeology in the Public Sector: A New Archaeology

There is no doubt in my mind that these post-1966 changes have been good—very, very good—for Florida archaeology. In hindsight that is an easy call. During the 1970s and early 1980s, however, things were not always as cer-

tain. Some people were convinced that the ascendancy of public archaeology was simply an example of bureaucratic excess that, while providing desk jobs for some, would invite money-hungry charlatans into the field. The Society of Professional Archeologists (SOPA) with its by-laws, stringent registration procedures, and protocols for filing grievances to weed out shoddy fieldwork was founded as one antidote.

SOPA was never an unqualified success in policing archaeologists, however. One reason was that its membership never included a significant percentage of the profession. Some purists refused to join because they saw public archaeology as lower in status than academic archaeology. Others were too cheap.

In the end it would be peer review, not the threat of SOPA sanctions, that provided quality control for American archaeology. That turned out to be just fine; had SOPA ever had to pay the legal fees associated with even one hotly contested court case, the organization would have gone bankrupt.

SOPA, now subsumed by the Register of Professional Archaeologists, did produce one extraordinary innovation. Some of its leaders contended that if archaeology were to prosper in an era of increasing federal regulation, our discipline needed a voice in Washington, D.C. Archaeology needed lobbyists. Furthermore, if archaeologists were going to be successful in lobbying, the discipline needed to speak with one voice.

The debate in Florida and elsewhere over whether one should register with SOPA was nothing compared with the debate over lobbying. For a time SOPA went it alone while the purists of other professional organizations tried to ignore the changing climate in which archaeology was being carried out, especially the ascendancy of public archaeology. Gradually, however, through such efforts as the Coordinating Council of National Archaeological Societies, leaders of other national archaeological organizations were educated. SOPA professionalized archaeology.

As a young archaeologist in the late 1970s I participated firsthand in some of these debates. At the time I recall being very aware that my graduate career had provided me with absolutely no skills for dealing with the issues of public archaeology. Between 1966 and 1980 my archaeological world had been turned upside down.

The debates over SOPA and lobbying were not the only issues being discussed, sometimes vehemently, in those years. Another controversy was the status of graduate education in archaeology. Should we continue training graduate students if there were no jobs for them when they graduated? As framed, that question assumed that the only jobs were in academic settings. Yet that certainly was not the case at the time, nor is it the case today. Archaeology in the public sector continues to expand, providing more and more opportunities for employment, research, and meaningful careers.

Has the rise of archaeology in the public sector brought other changes to our discipline? I can think of three right off. One is the emphasis on scientific methodology that CRM has necessitated. I believe that the “New Archaeology” was in large part a result of the demands of cultural resource management. Archaeologists engaged in CRM projects needed to present a research design along with a budget, a plan of work, and a schedule for completion. Archaeologists no longer went to the field to dig, they went to dig to accomplish something, to solve a problem or answer specific questions.

For example, in 1966 as a student archaeologist I was told to dig in a midden adjacent to Fisheating Creek at the Fort Center site. We found a lot of neat stuff, mainly ceramics, which we catalogued (not very well, according to William Sears, who later reviewed our work). We also left a lot of data behind, especially the small fish bones that passed right through the three-fourths-by-three-eighths-inch hardware cloth we were using to sift soil. Were I to return to Fort Center today, I would be equipped to gather samples that would help answer questions about, for instance, the role of maize in the economy of the pre-Columbian Belle Glade people. I would know how many soil samples I wished to collect, what size, and from where they would be collected, and I would know what it was going to cost for the fieldwork and the analysis. Times have changed, thanks to public archaeology.

Another thing public archaeology has brought us is the public. Lobbying efforts in Washington and government funding of archaeology in response to laws and regulations have made archaeologists aware they serve a constituency. In Florida, as elsewhere, archaeologists have come to realize that the more we give to the public, the more they give to us. One cannot separate archaeology and public education. Today when one goes to the field, not only is there a botanical specialist on board but also there are plans for public relations. On returning from the field, there is not only an article to be written for *Southeastern Archaeology* but also one for a popular publishing venue. Archaeologists no longer can hide from the public as we did while excavating the Fort Center site in 1966. Archaeology, indeed, is not what it was.

Still another new facet of doing archaeology in Florida, as well as elsewhere, is the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act, though as yet NAGPRA has had little effect on archaeology in the state. Stimulated by concerns expressed by Division of Historical Resources officials, archaeologists, and Native Americans, legislation concerning the treatment of human remains in Florida preceded NAGPRA by several years. One thing NAGPRA has done is to cause museums, my own included, and other agencies to inventory the human remains and associated objects in their collections. These inventories, along with contextual data, have proven to be excellent databases for stimulating bioarchaeological research. Already several master’s theses have been written on

our human osteological collections, and more are in the works (e.g., Cabanilla 1999; Katzmarzyk 1998; Pober 1996; Walsh-Haney 1999).

The Impact

What has been the effect of these changes on Florida archaeology in terms of the bottom line? What more do we know about the past? Has growth in public archaeology, graduate programs and students, lobbying efforts, public education campaigns, and an emphasis on scientific methodology increased our knowledge of Florida's past?

The answer is an emphatic "Yes!" A convenient measure is *Florida Archaeology*, the book Charles Fairbanks and I published in 1980 with a Day-Glo green cover that its publishers thought would appeal to Floridians. Prior to 1980 a great deal of information about Florida's past was on hand. There were articles in the *Florida Anthropologist* (the first issue of which was in 1948) as well as in *American Antiquity*, the *Newsletter* of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, and other journals. There also were the well-illustrated monographs by Clarence B. Moore, reporting his many Florida expeditions between 1891 and 1918, as well as monographs, articles, and reports by other golden-oldie archaeologists and excavators, including Jeffries Wyman (1867, 1868, 1875), S. T. Walker (1880, 1883, 1885), Andrew E. Douglass (1884, 1885a, 1885b), Thomas Featherstonhaugh (1897, 1899), Frank H. Cushing (1896), and others.

These early reports, along with additional fieldwork—including the federal relief archaeology initiatives of the 1930s—provided grist for the important monographs and edited volumes of Ripley Bullen (1951, 1952), John Goggin (1952; Goggin and Sommer 1949), John Griffin (1949; Boyd et al. 1952; Griffin and Bullen 1950; Griffin and Smith 1948, 1954), Irving Rouse (1951), and Gordon Willey (1949a, 1949b). I think it no coincidence that all these latter publications were written while Griffin and his associates, Ripley Bullen and Hale Smith, worked for the Florida Park Service. Together they carried out a very large number of archaeological projects. Along with the projects of an energetic and young John Goggin, the Florida Park Service fieldwork created a climate of discovery and academic cross-fertilization that was fostered by the annual Southeastern Archaeological Conference. The period from 1948 to 1953 was an exciting time in Florida archaeology as investigators sought to identify and describe archaeological assemblages and order them in time and space.

Certainly, Goggin, Sears, Smith, and other archaeologists continued to work in Florida after 1953 and the closing down of the Florida Park Service archaeology program. Ripley Bullen moved to the Florida State Museum, where William Sears soon joined him. In the 1950s and 1960s museum curators Bullen and Sears published several monographs in the Contributions of the Florida



Figure 19.2. Workmen at shell midden near Thursby Mound, St. Johns River, Florida. (Photograph taken by C. B. Moore [1894:159])

State Museum Social Sciences Series (Bullen 1966, 1969; Sears 1957, 1960, 1963) and in related publications (Bullen and Bryant 1965; Bullen and Sleight 1959, 1960; Bullen et al. 1967). For the most part, these were reports, not syntheses. Still, thanks to these publications and numerous articles in the *Florida Anthropologist*, data regarding Florida's past continued to accumulate.

In 1973, Fairbanks and I set out to use all of these sources of information to write the overview of Florida archaeology, and in 1980 *Florida Archaeology* hit the bookstores. Ultimately, the book sold a lot of copies; people were hungry for such a statewide summary. Nevertheless, in serving up what we knew, *Florida Archaeology* pointed out what we did not know. There were huge geographical and temporal gaps in our knowledge of Florida's past.

That was the bad news. The good news was that as soon as *Florida Archaeology* was published, it began to go out of date. Over the next decade it died a slow death, as new field projects (many in public archaeology) and new ways of looking at and interpreting old data made it obsolete. I like to think that the growth of Florida archaeology in the 1980s is at least in small part the result of the synthesis represented by *Florida Archaeology*: publish what is known, and

others will be stimulated either to correct it or to augment it. In synthesis there is progress.

Elsewhere I have reviewed the state of archaeology in post-1980 Florida (Milanich 1993, 1995). Those reviews emphasize the obvious: the number of new projects in Florida is simply immense, as is the amount of new information on everything from Paleo-Indians to plantations. In 1994 and 1995 I published two up-to-date syntheses on pre-Columbian and colonial period Florida (Milanich 1994, 1995). Additional book-length studies, both popular and for the profession, appear in book stores at a steady pace (e.g., Bense 1999; Ewen and Hann 1998; Hann and McEwan 1998; Milanich 1996, 1998; Milanich, ed. 1999b; Miller 1998; Purdy 1996; Weisman 1999; Worth 1998a, 1998b), and the pages of the *Florida Anthropologist* are crammed with new knowledge.

There also is a thirst for the publications of the golden-oldie Florida archaeologists and the archaeologists of the 1948–1953 period. Reprints of books and articles by C. B. Moore, Cushing, John Goggin, John Griffin, and others have recently been published or are in the works (e.g., Griffin 1996; Milanich, ed. 1999; Mitchem 1999a, 1999b). At the end of the millennium archaeology is thriving in Florida.

A Theme

If I were to glean one simple theme from all of these post-1980 publications it would be water. One cannot do archaeology in Florida without recognizing that water and wetlands were extremely significant resources for pre-Columbian people. Marine, brackish, and freshwater habitats provided quantities of food for every pre-Columbian society, and the necessity to live in proximity to wetlands, either all or part of the time, was a determining factor in settlement systems.

In such localities, whether adjacent to a coastal salt marsh–tidal stream zone, the marshes of the middle portion of the St. Johns River, or the inshore, grassy-bottomed shallow waters of the southwest Florida coast, people could literally harvest fish, shellfish, and other animals.

The availability of resources in these relatively propitious environments profoundly affected the nature of pre-Columbian societies. Especially in the southern two-thirds of the state, where less fertile agricultural soils are found, people focused on wetland resources rather than on adopting maize agriculture. Though fishers and gatherers may have gardened, it was to their advantage to eschew intensive agriculture and maximize utilization of fish, shellfish, and other water-related resources.

Even though they were not maize agriculturists, many of these pre-Columbian societies were organized as simple chiefdoms. In southwest Florida, one

of the most productive coastal areas, the Calusa and their pre-Columbian ancestors developed a more complex chiefdom, one economically based on fishing, gathering, and foraging.

Only in areas of Florida where extensive wetlands are not present and where fertile soils are found in parts of northwest and north peninsula Florida did pre-Columbian peoples cultivate maize. Intensive, Mississippian-style farming was found only in the eastern panhandle, the region of the Fort Walton culture. In north peninsula Florida, the Timucuan groups and their pre-Columbian ancestors did farm, but maize was never as important as it was in the Fort Walton region.

Florida's wetlands are significant for another reason. Following the lead of Cushing at Key Marco (Cushing 1896) and William Sears in the charnel pond at Fort Center (Sears 1982), archaeologists have discovered that significant archaeological deposits are found not only adjacent to wetlands but also in them. Inundated Paleo-Indian sites in the Aucilla River, the Early Archaic Windover Pond site, Middle Archaic pond burial sites, the St. Johns culture Hontoon Island site, and many other Florida sites are yielding artifacts that are never preserved in dry land sites, including plants and plant products and wooden artifacts. Prior to 1980 squash and gourd seeds were reported from only Key Marco and one other site. Today we have literally thousands of *Cucurbita* seeds. Seeds from weedy gourds have even been identified from Aucilla River mastodon dung that predates the earliest humans in the state.

Two of my favorite archaeobotanical discoveries are the identification of wild chili peppers and papayas from a pre-Columbian Caloosahatchee culture site in southwest Florida (Walker and Marquardt 1993:5) and the identification of *Opuntia* (prickly pear) at the Early Archaic period Windover site in Brevard County (Doran and Dickel 1988:368). I predict that wet deposits will someday yield evidence that will rewrite much of what we know about pre-Columbian plant use.

That wetland resources are capable of supporting village life has long been recognized. Nevertheless, since 1980 and the publication of *Florida Archaeology*, archaeologists have discovered that because stable and significant wetland resources were present in Middle and Late Archaic times in such places as southwest Florida, the St. Johns River Basin, and along the northeast Florida coast, settled village life was present in those regions thousands of years earlier than previously thought. The characterization of Archaic period peoples as seasonal hunter-gatherers and Woodland people as villagers is wrong. Moreover, with settled village life came mound building. Construction of mounds for burial deposition and other purposes began in the Archaic period, not after 500 B.C.

Wrong also is the characterization of pre-Columbian south Florida as a unique, homogenous region. It is now obvious that a number of different cul-

tural adaptations existed in south Florida, all based on exploitation of various wetland habitats. Our old taxonomies are gradually being altered. In the future, long-held taxons such as “Glades culture” surely will be taken apart and rebuilt.

Finally, post-1980 research in Florida demonstrates the worth of the state as a cultural laboratory. It is an excellent setting to study the development of pre-Columbian cultures and their interactions with past and present environments as well as to understand the interactions between European colonies and Native American societies. Historical archaeology is as alive and well in the state as pre-Columbian archaeology. In Florida these sibling subdisciplines blend into one as Native American populations are traced from far in the pre-Columbian past into the eighteenth century.

Archaeology and its related disciplines such as bioarchaeology and archaeobiology are providing new windows into the worlds of the Calusa, the Apalachee, the Saturiwa, the Potano, and their ancestors. These and other people who once lived in Florida are an important part of our cultural and environmental heritage. We are fortunate that archaeology can help their story be told.

PART III
Commentary

20 Histories by the Archaeologist, for the Archaeologist

Kenneth E. Sassaman

Fourteen years ago, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference in New Orleans, a plenary session was organized by David Dye to take stock of the history of Southeastern archaeology and its role in the development of Americanist archaeology. Several of the papers presented in that session were expanded and published in a special issue of the journal *Southeastern Archaeology*.

About that same time, Jay Johnson was asked to organize an archaeology session for the 1990 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, also in New Orleans. Designed by Johnson as a topical review of our intellectual growth, that session was parlayed into the widely read book titled *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology* (Johnson 1993).

The year before last, SEAC's sixtieth anniversary, was yet another occasion to reflect on our history, this time with a poster from the National Park Service commemorating the Depression-era archaeology that is our true legacy.

And now this volume—some nineteen chapters following the successful 1999 SEAC symposium in honor of Dr. Charles H. McNutt. Aside from the appropriate honor bestowed upon this deserving colleague, how are we to regard this recent spell of historicizing? Is it typical for a maturing discipline to reflect on its collective past, perhaps in the interest of charting a course for its future growth? Are we experiencing the graying of our culture, with requisite nostalgia for a bygone era when archaeology was unencumbered by special interests, government regulation, and political correctness? Or maybe we have simply been swept up in the millenarian craze, victims of our own tendencies to impart meaning to (pre)history in one-thousand-year-long slices.

I suppose Richard Nixon was right when he said, "Once you get into this great stream of history, you can't get out." Fortunately for us, as the many fine

chapters of this volume show, history has been much kinder to Southeastern archaeology than it has been to Dick. That our history has not been captured literally on tape, with or without the long spans of silence, means that it is indeed appropriate to reflect on our common and individual pasts often and from many different angles. This volume serves this purpose well, and I am happy to have the opportunity to reflect on it and add some thoughts from the perspective of a formerly ahistorical prehistorian who only recently came to appreciate the historicism of what we do.

When asked to comment on the symposium from which this volume's chapters were derived I was skeptical that another history session could add anything new to histories written but a few years ago. The session and its expanded chapters, however, indeed represent a markedly different approach to history than those designed by Dye and Johnson. Most obvious is the state-specific nature of the present work. Whereas previous efforts took decidedly paradigmatic or thematic approaches to histories, the contributors here were mostly charged with summarizing the history of archaeology in their respective states. With fourteen states to cover, we have many more contributors to the writing of Southeastern histories than in the earlier efforts; in fact, only three of the twenty-one authors of this book contributed to the earlier volumes, so it is indeed a completely different lot. Perhaps none of this volume's contributors had Winston Churchill in mind when he said, "History will be kind to me because I intend to write it myself," but clearly a large and diverse bunch of writers ensures that many more points of view will be added to the ranks of published SEAC historians. I am not suggesting that previous authors were overly biased or elitist in their histories; in their own right they represent great breadth of knowledge, experience, and perspective. Rather, I am interested in how the state-specific frame of this volume regards the benchmarks of Southeastern archaeology specified in previous efforts.

Initially, I was put off by the state-specific format because it seemed too parochial, too atomistic. My recent rereading of Johnson's book and the papers in Volume 9 of *Southeastern Archaeology*, however, reminded me how essential the institutional boundaries of statehood have been, and continue to be, in doing Americanist archaeology. Obviously, the differential opportunities and constraints of each state's finances, infrastructure, and intellectual and political resources had enormous effects on the quality and quantity of archaeological work, independent of federal edict or national trends. So, whereas New Deal archaeology and culture history are acknowledged as defining themes of Southeastern archaeological history, their particular circumstances in Tennessee and South Carolina, for instance, are hardly comparable and not simply because rivers in the Palmetto State were not so often dammed. Even today, a federal agency such as the Department of Energy can have vastly different pro-

grams in these adjoining states, one well funded and programmatic, the other impoverished and chaotic. Had Strom Thurmond been brokering deals in the Senate in the 1930s the way he did in more recent decades, New Deal archaeological resources may have been allocated much differently.

This brings up another major difference between today's histories and those of a decade ago, and this is the perspective on individual leadership, influence, and deal making. Certainly all histories of Southeastern archaeology acknowledge the *intellectual* contributions of the giants: Wyman, Jones, Moore, Thomas, Holmes, Webb, Willey, Goggin, Fairbanks, Lewis, Kneberg, Caldwell, Haag, and, of course, Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, to name but a few. Nevertheless, we do not hear enough about the financing and administration of all their great work or how it was regarded by nonprofessionals. Putting in place the support necessary to sustain archaeological programs at the state level involved the combination of financiers and administrators whose roles are largely forgotten, as well as the archaeologists who made it worthwhile by publishing the results of their work. Conversely, we also hear little about the squandered opportunities and inept administration that hindered archaeology in some circles. Although it might be completely inappropriate to hang out one's dirty laundry during a celebration, we ought not to forget that differences in the archaeological histories from state to state owe as much to failures as they do to successes.

State Institutions and Organizations

Many of this volume's contributors mention the northern institutions and funding agencies that enabled the earliest investigations in the Southeast. These are familiar entities: the Bureau of American Ethnology, the Museum of the American Indian, Harvard's Peabody Museum, and Clarence B. Moore, an institution unto himself. Of greater interest to me are the homegrown beginnings of institutional support. They constitute a diverse, somewhat surprising array of agencies and individuals. In 1920s Arkansas a zoologist used private funds and Carnegie dollars to establish the state's first archaeology lab. In Virginia the state library system, of all things, was the first agency to maintain records of archaeological sites. And in South Carolina two remarkable women worked with the Charleston Museum in the teens and twenties to compile what was to become the core of the state site files. Foundations were laid in other places as well, although not all states enjoyed fruitful beginnings, and some proved unsustainable. Their significance, I believe, lies in the predisposition of state or local agencies to accommodate federal initiatives, including the New Deal, but particularly legislation of the mid-1960s and 1970s.

On an associated front are the diverse histories of academic institutions in

the South. Through the mid-twentieth century, northern universities (many private) exercised nearly complete control over the intellectual domain of Southeastern archaeology. Anthropology programs at southeastern schools were slow to develop on their own, in part owing to recalcitrant attitudes about human evolution among legislators. As Lewis Larson states, anthropology, in its championing of evolution, was a potential threat to dominant interests during the era of uncontested segregation in the South. The archaeology of Southeastern prehistory was not so perceived by legislators and the public and was thus the most fundable component of university departments. Still, as is so well documented in this book and elsewhere, New Deal initiatives were the entrée for archaeology in the South, not broad-based anthropology programs such as those of recent decades.

Through the 1960s professors housed at northern institutions still held programmatic sway over Southeastern archaeology. A core of state schools in the South, however, was able to parlay the opportunities of new federal mandates into program development. Cultural resource management (CRM), as it came to be known, was the basis for archaeological innovation within the southern academy. It legitimated the pursuit of research that was virtually ignored by generations of northern academicians. Moreover, funding was used for new faculty slots, graduate student support, and curriculum development. Clearly, CRM was the cash cow of historically impoverished programs in the South, and it helped to liberate the region from the domination of northern institutions.

University-based institutions and related state agencies cropped up like weeds in the 1960s and 1970s. In the latter decade institutions such as the Arkansas Archeological Survey and the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology conducted hundreds of CRM projects and published the results in high-profile technical reports and scholarly articles. Effective administrative divisions emerged in Louisiana, Florida, Illinois, and elsewhere. Programmatic agreements between federal agencies and universities in Tennessee and Georgia enabled long-term funding and research opportunities. In most states times were good, and although most university departments and institutes were headed by individuals educated up north or out west, the region was coming into its own as the hotbed of CRM.

And yet, according to some contributors to this volume, the silver lining of CRM was quickly to become a black cloud for certain southeastern universities. Academic schedules and constraints were not always conducive to good CRM. Under the traditional system of reward, some university professors found little percentage in contract work. The main source of labor, namely graduate students, was transient and encumbered with other responsibilities. Contracts were defaulted, and federal agents grew resentful of ivory-tower arrogance.

Small-business set-asides made it difficult for universities to compete. Finally, northern-based engineering firms, with huge capital reserves and spirits of risk taking, brought their resources to bear on southeastern projects, outcompeting university programs for limited dollars. The return of the “carpetbaggers,” as Jay Johnson likes to call them, kindled a growing divide between the academic and private sectors of Southeastern archaeology, leaving the former to seek financial support elsewhere.

University departments that survived or even thrived in the fluctuating climate of cultural resource management in the 1970s and 1980s did so either by diversifying their geographical and topical strengths or by cultivating public support for state archaeology. Programs based on popular attractions, such as the University of Alabama’s museum at Moundville, successfully combined research with tourism and public education while maintaining strength in CRM. Those lacking core attractions and sustainable CRM programs had to look elsewhere. In these cases the relationships between academic programs and public interest groups were critical. Unfortunately, few of the chapters in this volume delve deeply into this subject. Many contributors mention the early days of archaeological societies, and a few discuss the growing trend toward privatization, yet none really considers the consequences of public support, or lack of, in creating and sustaining university and state programs.

Successful relations between professionals and the public are exemplified by the outreach efforts of the Arkansas Archeological Survey and the Louisiana Division of Archaeology, among many others. The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology arguably owes its very founding to the tight-knit relationship between its first true director and a leading avocational archaeologist. Like so many, this is a tale of interpersonal relations that could have just as easily soured, rather than nurtured, the early days of the Institute. Had Robert L. Stephenson’s predecessor, William Edwards, not left South Carolina in 1966 for employment elsewhere, the state may very well not have a public constituency on which to lean. After working with “amateurs” for a few years and helping to establish the state’s first archaeological society, Edwards, no doubt meaning well, proposed that all society members cease relic collecting and turn over their artifacts to the state. Damage to public relations began to heal when Stephenson arrived in 1968 and, with James L. Michie, reinvented the society, this time with the philosophy that professionals and amateurs could and should work together and with the institutional backing of the state. The ensuing interdependency has been profitable by most accounts but hardly uncontested, as a small, vociferous handful has criticized the relationship and even tried to block federal funding for projects involving nonprofessionals.

The consequences of the alternative—complete separation of professional and public spheres—are clearly negative. Declared disdain for amateurs by cer-

tain professionals, for instance, has fueled the animosity of renegade archaeological societies whose intent is to circumvent the impositions of state and academic control over their right to collect and dig, even to the extent of publicly undermining the creditability of professional archaeologists. Histories of alienation are a huge impediment to the need to increase public support for archaeology in the changing economy of CRM and research foundations. These histories remain largely unconsidered in the chapters of this volume.

Also unexamined are the roles of state professional societies. Virtually all southeastern states now have councils that serve to integrate individuals from all varieties of professional service. It is not clear what effect, if any, professional councils have had on the quality and consistency of archaeological work in the Southeast, but this certainly is a point worth considering. In some cases professional councils have been effective lobbying bodies, whereas in others their role is largely scholarly, and in others little other than camaraderie is served.

Similarly, formal relations between archaeologists and Native American groups are recent phenomena whose consequences for the conduct of archaeology remain sketchy. Most of us by now are very familiar with recent legislation protecting Native American rights (e.g., the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act). It would be interesting to compare the records across states for addressing legislative mandates vis-à-vis prior involvement between professionals and tribal officials. In his chapter, Robert Neuman implies that limited prior involvement with tribes by professionals in Louisiana has hindered better relations. Contrast this with Arkansas, where Hester Davis notes that consent for grave investigations have been enabled through a well-nurtured mutualism. I have little personal knowledge about formal relations between tribes and archaeologists in most southern states; those with which I am familiar are generally difficult, sometimes effective, and never free of suspicion. I suspect that another retelling of histories in a decade or so will not be able to avoid Native American issues because they are clearly realigning priorities and resources in ways that will alter archaeology forever.

In Need of Social Histories

Whether written from the viewpoints of academic departments, regulatory agencies, avocational societies, or Indian tribes, the histories of Southeastern archaeology vary from state to state. Each such entity, however, has been subject to the tradition and change of national politics, popular culture, and regional ideology that constitute our collective structure. The chapters of this volume provide numerous observations relevant to a social history of Southeastern archaeology, though they are hardly unified in this respect. Con-

tributors were asked to recount their personal remembrances, their own histories, not interpret sociological trends. In fact, the bulk of this volume's contributions are chronicles of people, agencies, and events. Like the culture histories that define Southeastern prehistory, chronicles about archaeology are prerequisite to the analysis of meaning and purpose, yet they have no existence apart from the values and theories that shade interpretation. The choice of events to chronicle and the connections authors make among them are entirely codependent. Objectivity notwithstanding, it is thus somewhat frustrating that few contributors make explicit the conceptual precepts and agendas of their respective histories.

Germes of social analysis crop up in several places in this volume. An especially deliberate effort is seen in David Brose's review of changing political agendas of southeastern museums. His point that museums are currently bending to the will of "selective community empowerment" suggests how tenuous nationalist ideologies have been in sustaining private institutions. Similarly, Lewis Larson's insights on the role of racist attitudes to program development in the South is a particularly pointed commentary on the sociological conditions perpetuating the second-rate status of its institutions of higher learning.

Other commentary is more subtle, though equally provocative. Jon Muller's passing reference to the GI Bill points to one of the more remarkable social changes in Americanist archaeology, namely, the democratization of the academy (Patterson 1995:80–82). Lest anyone think this insignificant to the rather esoteric realm of archaeology, take another look at Lewis Binford's (1972) introduction to *An Archaeological Perspective*. Here we read of a southern fellow who set his sights on a career in anthropology after an undergraduate education in forestry and a stint in the military. I don't think Binford was a GI Bill recipient, but that matters little. His too was a working-class struggle to succeed in a (northern) world of bourgeoisie hegemony. After an alleged dispute with James B. Griffin over his Ph.D. degree, Binford locked horns with Robert Braidwood over tenure at the University of Chicago. To Binford, Braidwood embodied the arrogance and elitism of northern wealth as well as the intellectual bankruptcy of culture history. Indeed, Braidwood's take on the origins of food production was metaphor for class struggle. "Only a gentleman at the end of such a progressive line could understand the character of the struggle and recognize when man and 'culture' were ready for the first great step away from our crude forebears—the appearance of agriculture" (Binford 1972:11). To hear him tell it, Binford was the Mesolithic dolt to Braidwood's Neolithic sage. In a letter assessing Binford's tenure case Braidwood branded the North Carolinian "incompetent" (Binford 1972:11). Binford was not amused, and he set out to prove Braidwood wrong. At the famed 1966 American Anthropological Association symposium in Denver, where the "coming out" of processual archae-

ology met a standing-room-only crowd (“My God, Lew, they’re standing in the rear”) and standing ovations (“I was choked up and wondered if Huxley had ever cried”), Binford got his chance. “I had been boiling under the ‘incompetent’ label—anyone who got an A from Al Spaulding was not incompetent—and had written a paper designed to settle the point; it was called ‘Post Pleistocene Adaptations’” (Binford 1972:12). The New Archaeology as class struggle! How is that for revisionist history?

The irony of a southerner overcoming culture history and northern arrogance to liberate the field should not be lost to Southeastern histories. Binford’s program caught on like wildfire among his University of Chicago students and later those at Santa Barbara and the University of New Mexico. A few would establish themselves in the Southeast (mostly through CRM), but largely they worked the fields of the Southwest and Midwest. So what happened in the Southeast? According to Robert Dunnell (1990), New Archaeology bypassed practitioners of the region as they remained steadfast in their commitment to culture history. A similar claim has been made by Christopher Peebles with respect to the spark of postprocessual developments kindled in the halls of Cambridge (England, that is), Berkeley, and Amherst. As a group, Southeastern archaeologists “have shown little inclination to indulge in the rampant and fruitless forms of archaeological relativism that are emerging at present” (Peebles 1990:23). Both Peebles and Dunnell insinuate that southern conservatism had its advantages: culture history is reclaiming national prominence after thirty-plus years of paradigm bashing, and the Southeast is fully prepared to take advantage of the changing tide.

What is not so clear in either of these claims is whether we are to be congratulated for knowingly steering clear of worthless pursuits, as if wisdom and clairvoyance were our chief assets, or whether we are somewhat akin to that gentle but mentally challenged gardener Chauncey played by Peter Sellers in the film classic *Being There*. Chauncey finds himself displaced from the home of his deceased benefactor only to be struck by a car owned by the most powerful man in Washington, D.C. While nursing his victim to health, this influential gentleman mistakes Chauncey’s mindless drivel about flowers and roots for keen metaphorical commentary on the economic policies of the United States. If you know the film, you know that Chauncey ends up running for President and presumably wins, although we are left to ponder that likelihood as the movie closes with Chauncey strolling aimlessly atop a nearby pond in the fashion of Jesus Christ.

Culture history has been and continues to be the defining paradigm of Southeastern archaeology for a variety of reasons. As the contributors to Jay Johnson’s (ed. 1993) book ably recount, the Southeast was the laboratory of method in culture history (see also Lyman et al. 1997). The region provided the

combination of stratified sites and surface exposures that enabled testing of artifact sequences at extralocal scales. It was the dominion of archaeologists with unparalleled skills in comparative analysis who met regularly to share observations and ideas. And, it was the bastion of James Griffin and his students, many of whom went on to teach at southern institutions at the dawn of processual archaeology.

All this is well known to us. What has not been considered to any great extent is the relationship between the intellectual conservatism of the stalwarts of culture history and the cultural conservatism of the students they educated at southern institutions. By and large, the university students in the South in the 1960s and 1970s were born and raised in the South. I would guess that many were predisposed to conservative approaches to archaeology and skeptical of any revolutionary claims. Vietnam War protests notwithstanding, southern universities, with some exception, were not known as hotbeds of radical thinking. What effect, if any, did this social conservatism have on intellectual developments or lack thereof? This remains to be examined.

Intersecting issues of class are those of gender and race. Discrimination against women, blacks, and Indians is hardly just a southern trait, although perhaps in no other region has discrimination been such a defining feature. The plight of women in archaeology has been documented in many recent publications and now in a volume expressly on the Southeast (White et al. 1999). Clearly women's labor was exploited, and clearly the intellectual contributions of women have been underappreciated. Acknowledging these facts is the first step in rewriting the histories of institutional and individual successes, but a larger agenda has yet to be confronted, namely, the alienation of archaeological labor in general (Paynter 1983) and its persistence in a region where organized labor is still regarded by many as anathema. Cheryl Claassen's (1993) study of the use of black women on Works Progress Administration projects begins to show how racism and gender discrimination conspired to create a working class that was thoroughly alienated by the labor processes of archaeology. In archaeology we have one of the only *intellectual* pursuits in Western society that is predicated on *manual* labor. Labor has always been deliberately underskilled or deskilled to preserve a separation from management, and the transient nature of blue-collar employment has effectively thwarted labor organization. Many are quick to point out that opportunities for paid work, no matter how menial, beat unemployment; that, in effect, was the rationalization of New Deal policy. Nonetheless, the dark side of this situation is the limited chance for career development and advancement. Being a woman, or a black, or a poor white clearly put one at a disadvantage in the opportunities to parlay experience and education into "management," especially when education and experience were routinely segregated. Indeed, the democratization of the

academy was not all that democratic in a region whose states' primary education systems continue to be ranked among the lowest in the nation.

Coming to appreciate the social history of labor in Americanist archaeology might help us to forestall further alienation in a field that is increasingly specialized and fragmented. Virtually no single individual today commands all the knowledge necessary to conceive, execute, and report in detail a program of archaeological research comparable in scale to those of the WPA, at least not by today's standards. Was it simpler then? Not in the sense of the intellectual challenge of delving into the unknown and clearly not in the sense of information management (how did they do it without computers?). Rather, the chief differences, in my mind, are in relations between social groups and factions; between labor and management; between genders, classes, and "races." Little in the histories reported here make these differences clear to us or, conversely, expose the lingering contentions.

My intent in bringing up these points about social history is not to suggest that other approaches to histories are less valuable nor to suggest I have the necessary skill and perspective to write such a history. In fact, it may take an outsider to pull it off, someone who can write without fear of vilification (e.g., Kehoe 1998). Even if most of the contributors to this volume are not as critical and analytical as one might hope, they go a long way toward diversifying perspectives on Southeastern archaeology over those written a decade ago. The state-specific format of the volume helps to expose some of the differences in personnel, opportunity, and impediment that ensured diverse experiences for those working the region. Simultaneously, the collected work reflects favorably on the shared successes of a regional community. SEAC itself is testimony to the integrative skills of individuals to transcend the limitations of resource and opportunity across states. Despite recent claims to the contrary (Claassen et al. 1999), SEAC is perhaps the closest thing we will ever have to a truly egalitarian and democratic professional community. We should all be proud to share in its tradition and to sustain its existence.

Notes

My thanks to Shannon Tushingham, Jane Hill, and Charles McNutt for the invitation to comment on the symposium from which this volume is derived and for including some of my thoughts in print. Peter Schmidt reminded me about Lewis Binford's disdain for Braidwood and its undercurrent of class conflict. I thank Michael Nassaney for providing comments and references that helped improve an earlier version of this chapter.

References Cited

Adovasio, James (compiler)

- 1982 *The Prehistory of the Paintsville Reservoir, Johnson and Morgan Counties, Kentucky*. Ethnology Monographs 6. Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

Adovasio, J. M., J. Donahue, H. B. Rollins, and R. C. Carlisle

- 1980 *Archaeological Testing at Two Rockshelters in the TRMRD AL and MS*. University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

Alvey, Richard L., Lance K. Greene, and Noeleen McIlvena

- 1992 *A Final Report on Phase I Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey for Cultural Resources in the Proposed State Route 30 Realignment Right-of-Way, Bledsoe County, Tennessee*. Submitted to the Tennessee Department of Transportation, Nashville. Transportation Center, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

American Philosophical Society

- 1798 Committee to Collect Information Respecting Past and Present State of this Country. Circular, Philosophy Hall, Pennsylvania.

Amick Daniel S.

- 1984 Lithic Raw Material Variability in the Central Duck River Basin: Reflections of Middle and Late Archaic Organizational Strategies. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Anderson, David G.

- 1974 An Archeological Survey of the Proposed Alternate Two Route of the Southeastern Beltway between S.C. Route 48 and 1-26, Richland-Lexington Counties, South Carolina, August 1974. University of South

- Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 6(5–6):125–163. Columbia.
- 1975 Inferences from Distributional Studies of Prehistoric Artifacts in the Coastal Plain of South Carolina. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 18:180–194.
- 1977 A History of Prehistoric Archaeological Investigations in the Coastal Plain of South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 9(2). Archeological Society of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1979 *Excavation at Four Fall Line Sites: The Southeastern Columbia Beltway Project*. Report No. R-2008. Commonwealth Associates, Jackson, Michigan.
- 1982 The Mattassee Lake Ceramic Artifact Assemblage. In *The Mattassee Lake Sites: Archaeological Investigations along the Lower Santee River in the Coastal Plain of South Carolina*, assembled by David G. Anderson, Charles E. Cantley, and A. Lee Novick, pp. 207–321. Special Publication 1. Interagency Archaeological Services, National Park Service, Atlanta.
- 1993a Twenty-five Years of Prehistoric Archaeology in South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 25:14–22.
- 1993b The Future of South Carolina Archaeology: A Management and Research Perspective. *South Carolina Antiquities* 25:78–81.
- 1994 *The Savannah River Chiefdoms: Political Change in the Late Prehistoric Southeast*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 1996 *Indian Pottery of the Carolinas: Observations from the March 1996 Ceramic Workshop at Hobcaw Barony*. Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists, Columbia.
- 1998 South Appalachian Tradition. In *Archaeology of Prehistoric Native America: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Guy Gibbon, pp. 775–776. Garland Publishing, New York.
- Anderson, David G., Charles E. Cantley, and A. Lee Novick
 1982 *The Mattassee Lake Sites: Archaeological Investigations along the Lower Santee River in the Coastal Plain of South Carolina*. Special Publication 1. Interagency Archaeological Services, National Park Service, Atlanta.
- Anderson, David G., David J. Hally, and James L. Rudolph
 1986 The Mississippian Occupation of the Savannah River Valley. *Southeastern Archaeology* 5(1):32–51.
- Anderson, David G., and Glen T. Hanson
 1988 Early Archaic Settlement in the Southeastern United States: A Case Study from the Savannah River Valley. *American Antiquity* 53(2):261–286.
- Anderson, David G., and J. W. Joseph
 1988 *Prehistory and History along the Upper Savannah River: Technical Synthesis of Cultural Resource Investigations*, Richard B. Russell Multiple Re-

- source Area. Russell Papers. Interagency Archeological Services, National Park Service, Atlanta.
- Anderson, David G., J. W. Joseph, Mary Beth Reed, and Steven D. Smith.
1999 *Prehistory and History in Western Louisiana: A Technical Synthesis of Cultural Resource Investigations at Fort Polk*. NPS Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee, Florida.
- Anderson, David G., Sammy T. Lee, and A. Robert Parler
1979 *The Cal Smoak Site: A Report of Archeological Investigations along the Edisto River in the Coastal Plain of South Carolina*. Occasional Papers of the Archeological Society of South Carolina 1. Columbia.
- Anderson, David G., and Patricia A. Logan
1981 *Francis Marion National Forest: Cultural Resources Overview*. USDA Forest Service, Washington, D.C.
- Anderson, David G., James L. Michie, and Michael B. Trinkley
1974 *An Archeological Survey of the Proposed Southeastern Beltway Extension and 12th Street Extension Highway Route in the Vicinity of Congaree Creek*. Research Manuscript Series 60. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Anderson, David G., and Kenneth E. Sassaman (editors)
1996 *The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Anderson, David G., Kenneth E. Sassaman, and Christopher Judge (editors)
1992 *Paleoindian and Early Archaic Period Research in the Lower Southeast: A South Carolina Perspective*. Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists, Columbia.
- Anderson, David G., and Joseph Schuldenrein
1985 *Prehistoric Human Ecology along the Upper Savannah River: Excavations at the Rucker's Bottom, Abbeville, and Bullard Site Groups*. Russell Papers. Interagency Archeological Services Division, National Park Service, Atlanta.
- Anonymous
1910 Cyrus Thomas. *American Anthropologist* 12:337-343.
1955 *American College Dictionary*. New York: Random House.
- Ascher, Robert, and Charles Fairbanks
1971 Excavation of a Slave Cabin, Georgia, U.S.A. *Historical Archaeology* 5:3-17.
- Asreen, Robert C.
1974 *An Archeological Reconnaissance of the Proposed Cooper River Rediversion Project, Berkeley County, South Carolina*. Research Manuscript Series 61. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

- Astin, Robyn L.
 1996 Mound M: Chronology and Function at Moundville. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Atkinson, James R., John C. Phillips, and Richard Walling
 1980 *The Kellogg Village Site Investigations, Clay County, Mississippi*. Mississippi State University, Starkville.
- Aton, James M.
 1994 *John Wesley Powell*. Boise State University, Boise.
- Avery, George
 1997 *1997 Annual Report for the Los Adaes Station Archaeology Program*. Department of Anthropology, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana.
 1998 *1998 Annual Report for the Los Adaes Station Archaeology Program*. Department of Anthropology, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana.
- Ayres, Harvard, L. J. Loucks, and B. L. Purrington
 1980 Excavations at the Ward Site, a Pisgah Village in Western North Carolina. Paper presented at the 37th Southeastern Archaeological Conference, New Orleans.
- Babson, David W.
 1990 The Archaeology of Racism and Ethnicity on Southern Plantations. *Historical Archaeology* 24(4):20-28.
- Baca, Keith A.
 1989 Archaeological Collections of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. *Mississippi Archaeology* 24(2):28-44.
- Bache, Charles, and Linton Satterthwaite Jr.
 1930 The Excavation of an Indian Mound at Beech Bottom, West Virginia. *Museum Journal*, 21(3-4):132-187. University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.
- Baden, William W.
 1983 *Tomotley: An Eighteenth Century Cherokee Village*. Report of Investigations No. 36 and TVA Publications in Anthropology No. 35. University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.
- Baker, Brenda J., and Lisa Kealhofer (editors)
 1996 *Bioarchaeology of Native American Adaptations in the Spanish Borderlands*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Baker, Steven G.
 1974 Cofitachique: Fair Province of Carolina. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

- Baklanoff, Joy D., and Arthur F. Howington
 1989 *The Mounds Awaken: Mound State Monument and the Civilian Conservation Corps*. Special Publication 3. Alabama Museum of Natural History, Tuscaloosa.
- Bareis, Charles J., and J. W. Porter (editors)
 1984 *American Bottom Archaeology*. University of Illinois Press (for the Illinois Department of Transportation), Urbana.
- Barton, Benjamin Smith
 1799 Observations and Conjectures Concerning Certain Articles Which Were Taken out of an ancient Tumulus or Grave at Cincinnati in the County of Hamilton, and Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 4:181–215. Philadelphia.
- Bartram, William
 1928 *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, etc. 1773–1777*. American Bookshelf Series. Macy-Masius, Philadelphia.
- Beaman, Thomas E., Jr.
 1999 Fables in the Reconstruction: Marley Jefferson Williams and the Excavation of Tryon Palace. *North Carolina Archaeology* 49:1–22.
- Beck, Lane A.
 1995 Regional Cults and Ethnic Boundaries in Southern Hopewell. In *Regional Approaches to Mortuary Analysis*, edited by L. A. Beck, pp. 167–187. Plenum, New York.
- Beckwith, Thomas
 1887 Mounds in Missouri. *American Antiquarian* 9(4):228–232.
 1911 The Indian or the Moundbuilder. Cape Girardeau, Missouri.
 Undated Early Days on our Plantation. Undated manuscript cited by Louis B. Houck in his 1913 obituary of Beckwith, Normal College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri.
- Belmont, John S.
 1961 The Peabody Excavations, Coahoma County, Mississippi, 1901–1902. Unpublished bachelor's thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Bennett, John W.
 1943 Recent Developments in the Functional Interpretation of Archaeological Data. *American Antiquity* 9:208–219.
 1945 *Archaeological Explorations in Jo Daviess County, Illinois*. University of Chicago.
- Bense, Judith A.
 1987 *Final Report on the Midden Mound Project*. University of West Florida, Pensacola.

- Bense, Judith A. (editor)
 1999 *Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Benthall, Joseph L.
 1969 *Archeological Investigations of the Shannon Site, Montgomery County, Virginia*. Publication No. 32. Virginia State Library, Richmond.
 1990 *Daugherty's Cave: A Stratified Site in Russell County, Virginia*. Special Publication No. 18. Archeological Society of Virginia, Richmond.
- Beuschel, Leslie
 1976 Keowee-Toxaway Reservoir Project: A Partial Report of the Archaeology 1967–1968 and 1970. Manuscript on file, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Bigelow, A.
 1853 Observations on Some Mounds on the Tensaw River. *American Journal of Science and Arts* 15(21):186–192.
- Binford, Lewis R.
 1962 Archaeology as Anthropology. *American Antiquity* 28:217–225.
 1964a *Archaeological Investigations in the Carlyle Reservoir, Clinton County, Illinois, 1962*. SIUM-ASR 17. Submitted to Smithsonian Institution-River Basin Surveys, Lincoln, Nebraska.
 1964b A Consideration of Archaeological Research Design. *American Antiquity* 29:425–441.
 1965 Archaeological Systematics and the Study of Culture Process. *American Antiquity* 31:203–210.
 1967 An Ethnohistory of the Nattoway, Meherrin and Weanock Indians of Southeastern Virginia. *Ethnohistory* 14(3–4):103–218.
 1968 Some Comments on Historical Versus Processual Archaeology. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 24:267–275.
 1972 *An Archaeological Perspective*. Seminar Press, New York.
- Binford, Lewis R., and Sally S. Binford
 1966 A Preliminary Analysis of Functional Variability in the Mousterian of Levalloisian Facies. *American Anthropologist* 68(2), pt. 2:238–295.
- Binford, Lewis R., Sally R. Binford, Robert C. Whallon, and Margaret Ann Hardin
 1966 *Archaeology at Hatchery West, Carlyle, Illinois*. Southern Illinois University Museum, Archaeological Salvage Report 25. Submitted to United States National Park Service, Northeast Region, Lowell, Massachusetts.
 1970 *Archaeology at Hatchery West*. Memoir 24. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C. (Unacknowledged reprint of above.)

- Blakely, R. L., and B. Detweiler-Blakely
 1989 The Impact of European Disease in the Sixteenth-Century Southeast: A Case Study. *Mid-Continental Journal of Archaeology* 14(1):62–89.
- Blakeman, Crawford
 1971 Chert Sources and Cultural Interpretations in the Cave Run Reservoir, Kentucky. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Blitz, John H.
 1988 Henry Collins and Southeastern Archaeology. *Mississippi Archaeology* 23(1):1–11.
- Bohannon, Charles F.
 1972 *Excavations at the Pharr Mounds and Excavations at the Bear Creek Site*. Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Boudreaux, E. A., and Hunter B. Johnson
 1998 *Test Excavations at the Florence Mound in Northern Alabama*. Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Boyd, Mark F., Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin
 1951 *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- Boyer, William P.
 1983 Searching for Jefferson's Mound: A Preliminary Report on the 1982 Field Season at the Carrsbrook Site. Manuscript on file, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, and Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond.
- Brackenridge, G. Robert
 1982 Alluvial Stratigraphy and Geochronology along the Duck River, Central Tennessee: A History of Changing Floodplain Sedimentary Regimes. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geosciences, University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Brackenridge, Henry Marie
 1814 *Views of Louisiana, Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River in 1811*. Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, Pittsburgh. Reprint Quadrangle Books, 1962.
- 1818 Letter to Thomas Jefferson. (Letter written in 1813.) *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 1:151–159. Philadelphia.
- Bradbury, Andrew P.
 1998 The Examination of Lithic Artifacts from an Early Archaic Assemblage: Strengthening Inferences through Multiple Lines of Evidence. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 23(2):263–288.

- Bragg, Laura M.
 1918 Indian Mound Excavation in South Carolina. *Bulletin of the Charleston Museum* 14(4). Charleston.
- Braidwood, Robert J., and Gordon R. Willey
 1962 *Courses toward Urban Life: Archaeological Considerations of Some Cultural Alternates*. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 32. Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.
- Brain, Jeffrey P.
 1970 Early Archaic in the Lower Mississippi Alluvial Valley. *American Antiquity* 35(1):104–105.
 1972 *Excavations at Emerald Mound, Natchez Trace Parkway, Mississippi, Summer 1972*. Submitted to the National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
 1979 Artifacts of the Adelantado. *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 8:129–138.
 1988 *Tunica Archaeology*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 78. Harvard University, Cambridge.
 1989 *Winterville: Late Prehistoric Culture Contact in the Lower Mississippi Valley*. Archaeological Report 23. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Brain, Jeffrey P., and Ian W. Brown (editors)
 1982 *Robert S. Neitzel: The Great Sun*. Lower Mississippi Survey Bulletin No. 9. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Brain, Jeffrey P., and Philip Phillips
 1996 *Shell Gorgets: Styles of the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Southeast*. Peabody Museum Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Brannon, Peter A.
 1935 *The Southern Indian Trade*. Paragon Press, Montgomery, Alabama.
- Breitbart, Emanuel, and John B. Broster
 1995 A Hunt for Big Game: Does Coats-Hines Confirm Human/Mastodon Contact? *Tennessee Conservationist* 61(4):18–26.
- Britannica
 1999 *Encyclopedia Britannica* (www.eb.com) on-line version.
- Britsch, Louis D., and Joseph B. Dunbar
 1990 *Geomorphic Investigation of David Pond, Louisiana*. Technical Report GL-90-12. U.S. Army Engineer Waterways Experiment Station, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
- Brockington, Paul
 1980 *Cooper River Rediversion Archaeological Survey*. Research Manuscript Series 169. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Brookes, Samuel O.

- 1979 *The Hester Site: An Early Archaic Occupation in Monroe County, Mississippi*. Archaeological Report No. 5. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.

Brooks, Mark J., and Vletta Canouts (editors)

- 1984 *Modeling Subsistence Change in the Late Prehistoric Period in the Interior Lower Coastal Plain of South Carolina*. Anthropological Studies No. 6. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Brooks, Mark J., and Glen T. Hanson

- 1987 *Late Archaic–Late Woodland Adaptive Stability and Change in the Interior Lower Coastal Plain of South Carolina*. Savannah River Archaeological Research Program, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Brooms, B. McDonald, and James W. Parker

- 1980 *Fort Toulouse Phase III Completion Report*. Alabama Historical Commission, Montgomery.

Brose, David S.

- 1969 On the Relationship between History and Archaeology. *Papers of the Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology* 4(2):112–119.
- 1980 How Capt. Riggs Hunts for Mound Builders' Relics: An Historical Investigation of Some Influences on C. B. Moore. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 22:145–152.
- 1983 Rethinking the French Presence in the Upper Great Lakes. In *Lulu Linear Punctated: Papers in Honor of George I. Quimby*, edited by R. Dunnell and D. Grayson, pp. 140–174. Anthropological Papers 72. University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor.
- 1985 A Study in Grey: Critical Evaluation of Some Recent Literature in Cultural Resource Management. *American Anthropologist* 87:370–377.
- 1991 *Yesterday's River: The Archaeology of 10,000 Years along the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway*. Cleveland Museum of Natural History, Cleveland.
- 1993a Changing Paradigms in the Prehistory of the Southeastern United States. In *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by Jay Johnson, pp. 23–46. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 1993b Trade and Exchange in the Midwestern United States. In *Prehistoric Exchange Systems in North America*, edited by J. Erikson and T. Baugh, pp. 215–240. Plenum, New York.
- 2001 Introduction to Eastern North America at the Dawn of European Colonization. In *Societies in Eclipse*, edited by D. Brose, R. Mainfort,

- and C. W. Cowan. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C., in press.
- Brose, David S., James A. Brown, and David W. Penny
 1985 *Ancient Art of the American Woodland Indians*. Harry N. Abrams in association with the Detroit Institute of Art, New York.
- Brose, David S., and Cheryl A. Munson
 1987 Cultural Resource Management in the Midwest: Status and Directions. In *Society for American Archaeology: Regional Conferences Summary Report*, edited by C. Irwin-Williams and D. Fowler, pp. 68–77. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
- Broster, John B., and Mark R. Norton
 1990 Paleo-Indian Fluted Point and Site Survey in Tennessee: The 1989 Season. *Current Research in the Pleistocene* 7:5–7.
- Browman, David L.
 1999 Fay-Cooper Cole and Chicago Archaeology in the 1920s. Paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, Chicago.
- Brown, Calvin S.
 1926 *Archaeology of Mississippi*. Mississippi Geological Survey, University.
- Brown, Ian W.
 1978 *James Alfred Ford: The Man and His Works*. Special Publication No. 4. Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Memphis.
 1981 The Morgan Site: An Important Coles Creek Mound Complex on the Chenier Plain of Southwest Louisiana. *North American Archaeologist* 2(3):207–238.
 1985 *Natchez Indian Archaeology: Culture Change and Stability in the Lower Mississippi Valley*. Archaeological Report No. 15. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
 1990 Historic Indians of the Lower Mississippi Valley: An Archaeologist's View. In *Towns and Temples along the Mississippi*, edited by D. H. Dye and C. A. Cox, pp. 227–238. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
 1997 Recent Trends in the Archaeology of the Southeastern United States. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 2(1):45–111.
- Brown, Ian W., and Richard S. Fuller
 1993 Bottle Creek Research: Working Papers on the Bottle Creek Site (1Ba2), Baldwin County, Alabama. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 39(1–2): 1–169.
- Brown, James A.
 1971 The Dimensions of Status in the Burials at Spiro. In *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, edited by James A. Brown,

- pp. 92–122. SAA Memoirs 25. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
- 1975 Spiro Art and Its Mortuary Contexts. In *Death and the Afterlife in Pre-Columbian America*, edited by Elizabeth P. Benson, pp. 1–32. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Washington, D.C.
- 1976 The Southern Cult Reconsidered. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 2:115–135.
- 1981 The Search for Rank in Prehistoric Burials. In *The Archaeology of Death*, edited by R. Chapman, I. Kinnes, and K. Randsborg, pp. 25–37. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1983 Spiro Exchange Connections Revealed by Sources of Imported Raw Materials. In *Southeastern Natives and Their Pasts: A Collection of Papers Honoring Dr. Robert E. Bell*, edited by Don G. Wyckoff and Jack L. Hofman, pp. 129–162. Studies in Oklahoma's Past No. 11. Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, Norman.
- 1989 On Style Divisions of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: A Revisionist Perspective. In *Southern Ceremonial Complex, Artifacts and Analysis: The Cottonlandia Conference*, edited by Patricia Galloway, pp. 183–204. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- 1996 *The Spiro Ceremonial Center: The Archaeology of Arkansas Valley Caddoan Culture in Eastern Oklahoma*. 2 vols. Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology No. 29. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 1997 The Archaeology of Ancient Religion in the Eastern Woodlands. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26:465–85.
- Brown, James A. (editor)
- 1971 *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*. SAA Memoir No. 25. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
- Brown, James A. and John Kelly
- 2000 Cahokia and the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. In *Mounds, Mound, and Mesoamerica: Papers in Honor of Melvin L. Fowler*, edited by Steven R. Ahler. Scientific Papers. Illinois State Museum, Springfield.
- Brown, James A., Richard A. Kerber, and Howard D. Winters
- 1990 Trade and the Evolution of Exchange Relations at the Beginning of the Mississippian Period before A.D. 1200. In *Mississippian Emergence: The Evolution of Ranked Agricultural Societies in Eastern North America*, edited by Bruce D. Smith, pp. 251–280. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Brown, James A., and J. Daniel Rogers
- 1989 Linking Spiro's Artistic Styles: The Copper Connection. *Southeastern Archaeology* 8:1–8.

- 1999 AMS Dating of SECC Gravegoods at Spiro. *Southeastern Archaeology* 19:134–141.
- Brown, Jennifer S. H., and Elizabeth Vibert (editors)
- 1996 *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*. Broadview Press, Toronto.
- Broyles, Bettye J.
- 1958 *Russell Cave in Northern Alabama*. Miscellaneous Paper No. 4. Tennessee Archaeological Society, Knoxville.
- 1964 Mounds in Randolph County, West Virginia. *Eastern States Archeological Federation Bulletin* 23:9.
- 1966 Preliminary Report: The St. Albans Site (46 Ka 27), Kanawha County, West Virginia. *West Virginia Archeologist* 19:1–43.
- 1969 The Canfield Collection. *West Virginia Archeologist* 22:31–62.
- 1970a The Canfield Collection. *West Virginia Archeologist* 23:31–45.
- 1970b *Notes from the Section of Archeology*. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- 1970c A Fort Ancient Squaw's Life. *Wonderful West Virginia* 34(3):10–13.
- 1971a *Second Preliminary Report: The St. Albans Site, Kanawha County, West Virginia*. Report of Archeological Investigations No. 3. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- 1971b Mystery of the Buried Cabin. *Wonderful West Virginia*. 35(9):18–19.
- 1972 *Notes from the Section of Archeology*. West Virginia Geological Survey, Morgantown.
- 1976 *A Late Archaic Component at The Buffalo Site, Putnam County, West Virginia*. Report of Archeological Investigations No. 6. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- Broyles, Bettye J., and E. Thomas Hemmings
- 1975 Blennerhassett Island: Preserving the Past. *Wonderful West Virginia* 39(1):9–12.
- Broyles, Bettye J., Emil R. Liddell, and Dewey Berry
- 1975 *Archeological Survey and Test Excavations in the Burnsville Reservoir, Braxton County, West Virginia*. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Section of Archeology, Morgantown.
- Brush, Daniel Harmon
- 1944 Growing Up with Southern Illinois: 1820 to 1861. In *The Memoirs of D. H. Brush*, edited by M. M. Quaife. Lakeside Press, Chicago.
- Buchner, C. Andrew and Charles H. McNutt
- 1989 *A Phase I Reconnaissance Survey of the Proposed Munford Force-Main Sewer Line from Bluff Road to the Mississippi River, Tipton County, Tennessee*. Submitted to the Tennessee State Archaeologist, Nashville.

Copies available from Office of the State Archaeologist, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.

Bullen, Ripley P.

- 1951 *The Terra Ceia Site, Manatee County, Florida*. Publications No. 3. Florida Anthropological Society, Gainesville.
- 1952 *Eleven Archaeological Sites in Hillsborough County, Florida*. Report of Investigations 8. Florida Geological Survey, Tallahassee.
- 1966 *Burtine Island, Citrus County, Florida*. Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Social Sciences No. 14. Florida State Museum, Gainesville.
- 1969 *Excavations at Sunday Bluff, Florida*. Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Social Sciences No. 15. Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

Bullen, Ripley P., and W. J. Bryant

- 1965 *Three Archaic Sites in the Ocala National Forest, Florida*. American Studies Report 6. William L. Bryant Foundation, Orlando.

Bullen, Ripley P., Adelaide K. Bullen, and W. J. Bryant

- 1967 *Archaeological Investigations at the Ross Hammock Site, Florida*. American Studies Report 7. William L. Bryant Foundation, Orlando.

Bullen, Ripley P., and Frederick W. Sleight

- 1959 *Archaeological Investigations of the Castle Windy Midden, Florida*. American Studies Report 1. William L. Bryant Foundation, Orlando.
- 1960 *Archaeological Investigations of Green Mound, Florida*. American Studies Report 2. William L. Bryant Foundation, Orlando.

Bushnell, David I.

- 1914 *The Indian Grave: A Monacan Site in Albemarle County, Virginia*. *William and Mary Quarterly* 23(1).
- 1930 *The Five Monacan Towns in Virginia, 1607*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections Vol. 82(12). Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1935 *The Manahoac Tribes in Virginia, 1608*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections Vol. 94(8). Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1940 *Virginia before Jamestown*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections Vol. 100. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Byrd, Kathleen Mary

- 1974 *Tchefuncte Subsistence Patterns, Morton Shell Mound, Iberia Parish, Louisiana*. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

Cabanilla, Rhonda Quinn

- 1999 *Evidence for Diet and Climate in Archaic Florida: Analysis of the Tick Island Human and Faunal Skeletal Samples*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville.

- Cabek, Melanie A., Kenneth E. Sassaman, and J. Christopher Gillam
 1996 *Distributional Archaeology in the Aiken Plateau Intensive Survey of E Area, Savannah River Site, Aiken County, South Carolina*. Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 8. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Cable, John S.
 1992 *Prehistoric Adaptations to the Interior Uplands Environment of the Central South Carolina Coast: Test Excavations at Four Sites (38BK769, 38BK1176, 38CH1045, and 38CH1189) in the Francis Marion National Forest*. Francis Marion and Sumter National Forest Cultural Resource Management Report No. 91-34. New South Associates Technical Report No. 60, Stone Mountain, Georgia.
 1993 *Prehistoric Adaptations to the Interior Uplands Environment of the Central South Carolina Coast II: Test Excavations at Twelve Sites in the Francis Marion National Forest*. Francis Marion and Sumter National Forests Cultural Resource Management Report 91. Columbia, South Carolina.
 1998 Ceramic Analysis. In *Shaw Air Force Base Archeological Data Recovery at Sites 38SU45, 38SU133, and 38SU145, with Results of Test Excavations Conducted at Sites 38SU136, 38SU137, and 38SU141, Poinsett Electronic Combat Range, Sumter County, South Carolina*, edited by John S. Cable and Charles E. Cantley, pp. 189–246. U.S Air Force Air Combat Command Series Report of Investigations 7. Langley Air Force Base, Virginia.
- Cable, John S., Gail Wagner, and Christopher Judge
 2000 *The Wateree Archaeological Research Project: 1998 Survey and Testing at Three Mississippian Mound Centers*. Palmetto Research Publications in Archaeology. Irmo, South Carolina.
- Cable, John S., Kenneth F. Styer, and Charles E. Cantley
 1998 *Data Recovery Excavations at the Maple Swamp (38HR309) and Big Jones Sites on the Conway Bypass, Horry County, South Carolina: Prehistoric Settlement on the North Coastal Plain of South Carolina*. Technical Report 385. New South Associates, Stone Mountain, Georgia.
- Cable, John S., G. Ishmael Williams, Cynthia L. Abrams, Mary Beth Reed, and Theresa M. Hamby
 1993 *Cultural Resources Survey and Archeological Site Evaluation of the Edisto Beach State Park, Colleton County, South Carolina*. Technical Report 165. New South Associates, Stone Mountain, Georgia.
- Caldwell, Joseph R.
 1943 *Cultural Relations of Four Indian Sites of the Georgia Coast*. Unpub-

- lished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
- 1950 A Preliminary Report on Excavations in the Altoona Reservoir. *Early Georgia* 1:5–21.
- 1951 Archaeological Investigations in Western Virginia. *Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* 5(3).
- 1952 The Archeology of Eastern Georgia and South Carolina. In *Archeology of Eastern United States*, edited by James B. Griffin, pp. 312–321. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 1958 Trend and Tradition in the Prehistory of the Eastern United States. Memoir 88. American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin.
- 1962 Eastern North America. In *Courses toward Urban Life*, edited by Robert J. Braidwood and Gordon Willey, pp. 288–308. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology Vol. 32. Aldine Publishing, Chicago.
- 1965 Interaction Spheres in Prehistory. In *Hopewellian Studies*, edited by Joseph R. Caldwell and Robert L. Hall, pp. 135–143. Scientific Papers Vol. 12. Illinois State Museum, Springfield.
- 1974a Appraisal of the Archaeological Resources of Hartwell Reservoir, South Carolina and Georgia. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 6(2):35–44. Columbia.
- 1974b Archaeological Investigation of Fort Charlotte, McCormick County, South Carolina. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 6(2):45–56. Columbia.
- Caldwell, Joseph R., and Catherine McCann
- 1941 *Irene Mound Site*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Caldwell, Joseph R., and Antonio J. Waring Jr.
- 1939 Some Chatham County Pottery Types and Their Sequence. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Newsletter* 1(5–6).
- Caldwell, Sheila K.
- 1953 Excavations at a Spanish Mission Site in Georgia. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Newsletter* 3(3):31–32.
- 1954 A Spanish Mission Site Near Darien. *Early Georgia* 1(3):13–17.
- Cambron, James W., and David C. Hulse
- 1959 Flint Creek Rock Shelter (Part 1). *Tennessee Archaeologist* 15:73–87.
- 1960 Flint Creek Rock Shelter (Part 2). *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 7:1–46.
- Carr, Lucian
- 1877 Report on the Exploration of a Mound in Lee County, Virginia. *Peabody Museum Annual Report* 15(4) Cambridge.
- Carrillo, Richard
- 1971 *Exploratory Excavations at Fort Hawkins, Macon, Georgia: An Early*

- Nineteenth Century Military Outpost*. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Ceram, C. W.
 1967 *Gods, Graves and Scholars*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Chambers, Moreau B.
 1932–35 *Journal of M. B. Chambers: 1932–1933–1934–1935 Field Seasons*. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Chapman, Jefferson
 1973 *The Icehouse Bottom Site, 40Mr23*. Report of Investigations No. 13. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
 1975 *The Rose Island Site and the Bifurcate Point Tradition*. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations No. 14 and TVA Publications in Anthropology No. 14. University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
 1977 *Archaic Period Research in the Lower Little Tennessee River Valley, 1975: Icehouse Bottom, Harrison Branch, Thirty Acre Island, Calloway Island*. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations No. 18 and TVA Publications in Anthropology No. 13. University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
 1978 *The Bacon Farm Site and a Buried Site Reconnaissance*. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations No. 23 and TVA Publications in Anthropology No. 23. University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Chapman, Jefferson (editor)
 1979 *The 1978 Archaeological Investigations at the Citico Site (40MR7)*. Prepared for the Tennessee Valley Authority, Contract No. TV49491A. Copies available from the Tennessee Valley Authority, Chattanooga.
- Chapman, Jefferson, and Gary D. Crites
 1987 Evidence for Early Maize (*Zea mays*) from the Icehouse Bottom Site, Tennessee. *American Antiquity* 52(2):352–354.
- Chapman, Jefferson, Paul A. Delcourt, Patricia A. Cridlebaugh, Andrea B. Shea, and Hazel B. Delcourt
 1982 Man-Land Interaction: 10,000 Years of American Indian Impact on Native Ecosystems in the Lower Little Tennessee River Valley, East Tennessee. *Southeastern Archaeology* 1:115–121.
- Chapman, Jefferson, and Andrea B. Shea
 1981 The Archaeobotanical Record: Early Archaic Period to Contact in the Lower Little Tennessee River Valley. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 6:61–84.
- Charles, Tommy
 1986 The Fifth Phase of the Collectors Survey. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. *Notebook* 18:1–27. Columbia.

- Chatelaine, Verne
 1941 *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565–1763*. Publication 511. Carnegie Institute of Washington, Washington, D.C.
- Claassen, Cheryl
 1993 Black and White Women at Irene Mound. *Southeastern Archaeology* 12:137–147.
- Claassen, Cheryl, Michael O’Neal, Tamara Wilson, Elizabeth Arnold, and Brent Landsdell
 1999 Hearing and Reading Southeastern Archaeology: A Review of the Annual Meetings of SEAC from 1983 through 1995. *Southeastern Archaeology* 18:85–97.
- Claflin, William
 1931 *The Stallings Island Mound, Columbia County, Georgia*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology Vol. 14, No. 1. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Clancy, Phyllis M.
 1985 The Carden Bottom Puzzle Elucidated. Unpublished master’s thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.
- Clay, R. Berle
 1963 Ceramic Complexes of the Tennessee-Cumberland Region in Western Kentucky. Unpublished master’s thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
 1979 A Mississippian Ceramic Sequence from Western Kentucky. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 4:111–128.
 1994 *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Civil War Battlefields in Kentucky*. Office of State Archaeology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
 1997 The Mississippian Succession on the Lower Ohio. *Southeastern Archaeology* 16(1):16–32.
 1998 The Essential Features of Adena Ritual and Their Interpretation. *Southeastern Archaeology* 17(1):1–21.
- Clayton, Margaret V.
 1965 Bluff Shelter Excavations on Sand Mountain. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 11:1–98.
- Cleland, Charles
 1965 Faunal Remains from the Bluff Shelters in Northwest Arkansas. *Arkansas Archeologist* 6:39–63.
- Cobb, James E.
 1985 Late Middle Woodland Settlement and Subsistence Patterns on the Eastern Highland Rim of Middle Tennessee. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Cobb, James E., and Charles H. Faulkner

- 1978 *The Owl Hollow Project: Middle Woodland Settlement and Subsistence Patterns in the Eastern Highland Rim of Tennessee*. Final technical report submitted to the National Science Foundation in accordance with the requirements of Grant BNS76-11266.

Coe, Joffre L.

- 1934 Planning an Archaeological Survey of North Carolina. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina* 1(2):11-14.
- 1937 Keyauwee: A Preliminary Statement. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina* 4(1):8-16.
- 1949 Excavating in a Parking Lot at Morrow Mountain State Park. *Southern Indian Studies* 1(1):20-21.
- 1952 The Cultural Sequence of the Carolina Piedmont. In *Archeology of Eastern United States*, edited by James B. Griffin, pp. 301-311. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 1960 Prehistoric Change and Stability on the Carolina Piedmont Area. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 1964 The Formative Cultures of the Carolina Piedmont. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol. 54, Part 5. Philadelphia.
- 1995 *Town Creek Indian Mound: A Native American Legacy*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Coe, Joffre L., and Henry T. Ward

- 1973 *Preliminary Archaeological Test, Guilford Courthouse*. Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Report on file at the Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee.

Cole, Fay-Cooper, Robert Bell, John Bennett, Joseph Caldwell, Norman Emerson, Richard MacNeish, Kenneth Orr, Roger Willis

- 1951 *Kincaid: A Prehistoric Illinois Metropolis*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Cole, Fay-Cooper, and Thorne Deuel

- 1937 *Rediscovering Illinois: Archaeological Explorations in and around Fulton County*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Cole, Gloria G.

- 1981 *The Murphy Hill Site (1Ms300): The Structural Study of a Copena Mound and Comparative Review of the Copena Mortuary Complex*. University of Alabama Office of Archaeological Research, Research Series 3. TVA Publications in Anthropology 31. Chattanooga.

Coleman, Roger

- 1999 The Moore Homestead (3PL355). In *Excavations in the Shady Lake Recreation Area, 1992-93 Ouachita National Forest*, by R. Coleman, P.

- Gardner, J. Hilliard, M. Pfeiffer, and J. Stewart. *Arkansas Archeologist* 38:29-49.
- Collins, Henry B., Jr.
 1927 Potsherds from Choctaw Village Sites in Mississippi. *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 17(10):259-263.
 1932 Excavations at a Prehistoric Indian Village Site in Mississippi. *Proceedings of the United States National Museum* 79(32):1-22.
- Collins, Michael B.
 1975 Lithic Technology as a Means of Processural Inference. In *Lithic Technology: Making and Using Stone Tools*, edited by Earl Swanson, pp. 15-34. Mouton, The Hague.
- Collins, Michael B. (editor)
 1979 *Excavations at Four Archaic Sites in the Lower Ohio Valley, Jefferson County, Kentucky*. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 1. Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Conkey, W. B. Co.
 1893(?) *The Photographic World's Fair and Midway Plaisance*. W. B. Conkey Co., Chicago.
- Conn, Thomas L.
 1978 Utilization of Chert at the Poverty Point Site. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Connaway, John M.
 1977 *The Denton Site: A Middle Archaic Occupation in the Northern Yazoo Basin, Mississippi*. Archaeological Papers No. 4. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Connaway, John M., and Samuel O. McGahey
 1971 *Archaeological Excavation at the Boyd Site, Tunica County, Mississippi*. Technical Report No. 1. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Connaway, John M., Samuel O. McGahey, and Clarence H. Webb
 1977 *Teoc Creek: A Poverty Point Site in Carroll County, Mississippi*. Archaeological Report No. 3. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Cotter, John L.
 1951 Stratigraphic and Area Tests at the Emerald and Anna Mound Sites. *American Antiquity* 17:18-32.
 1958 *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia*. Archaeological Research Series No. 4. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.
 1993 Historical Archaeology before 1967. *Historical Archaeology* 21(1):4-9.

- 1994a Archaeological Memoirs of the Natchez Trace. *Mississippi Archaeology* 29(1):1–16.
- 1994b Beginnings. In *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Stanley South, pp. 15–26. Plenum, New York.
- Cotter, John Lambert, and John M. Corbett
- 1951 *Archeology of the Bynum Mounds, Mississippi*. Archaeological Research Series 1. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.
- Cowan, C. Wesley
- 1978 The Prehistoric Use and Distribution of Maygrass in Eastern North America: Cultural and Phytogeographical Implications. In *The Nature and Status of Ethnobotany*, edited by Richard I. Ford, pp. 263–288. Anthropological Papers No. 67. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 1979 Prehistoric Plant Utilization at the Rodgers Shelter, Powell County, Kentucky. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- 1985 Understanding the Evolution of Plant Husbandry in Eastern North America: Lessons from Botany, Ethnography, and Archaeology. In *Prehistoric Food Production in North America*, edited by Richard I. Ford, pp. 205–243. Anthropological Papers No. 75. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Cowan, C. Wesley, H. Edwin Jackson, Katherine Moore, Andrew Nickelhoff, and Tristine L. Smart
- 1981 The Cloudsplitter Rock Shelter, Menifee County, Kentucky: A Preliminary Report. *Southeastern Archaeology Bulletin* 24:60–76.
- Cowan, C. Wesley, and Patricia J. Watson
- 1989 *The Origins of Agriculture: An International Perspective*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Cramer, Zadok
- 1802 *The Ohio and Mississippi Navigator: Comprising an ample account of those beautiful waters, from the head of the former, to the mouth of the latter: a particular description of the several towns, posts, caves, ports, harbours, &c. on their banks, and accurate directions how to navigate them, as well in times of high freshes, as when the water is low: a description of its rocks, riffles, shoals, channels, and the distances from place to place. Together with a description of Monongahela and Allegheny river: first taken from the journals of gentlemen of observation, and now minutely corrected by several persons who have navigated those rivers for fifteen and twenty years*. Printed by John Scull, for Zadok Cramer, Pittsburgh.

- 1966 *The Navigator; Containing Directions for Navigating the . . . Ohio and*
[1814] *Mississippi Rivers*. 8th ed. Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, Pittsburgh.
1966 facsimile reprint, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Crites, Gary D.
- 1978a Paleoethnobotany of the Normandy Reservoir in the Upper Duck
River Valley, Tennessee. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of
Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 1978b Plant Food Utilization Patterns during the Middle Woodland Owl
Hollow Phase in Tennessee: A Preliminary Report. *Tennessee Anthro-*
pologist 3:79-92.
- 1985 Middle Woodland Paleoethnobotany of the Eastern Highland Rim of
Tennessee: An Evolutionary Perspective on Change in Human-Plant
Interaction. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthro-
pology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 1987 Middle and Late Holocene Ethnobotany of the Hayes Site (40ML139):
Evidence from Unit 990N918E. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology*
12:3-32.
- 1991 Investigations into Early Plant Domesticates and Food Production in
Middle Tennessee: A Status Report. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 16(1):69-
87.
- 1993 Domesticated Sunflower in Fifth Millennium B.P. Temporal Context:
New Evidence from Middle Tennessee. *American Antiquity* 58(1):146-148.
- Croswell, C.
- 1878 Mound Explorations in Southeastern Missouri. *St. Louis Academy of*
Science Transactions 3(4):531-538.
- Cumbaa, Stephen L.
- 1975 Patterns of Resource Use and Cross Cultural Dietary Change in the
Spanish Colonial Period. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department
of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.
- Curren, Caleb
- 1984 *The Protohistoric Period in Central Alabama*. Alabama-Tombigbee Re-
gional Commission, Camden, Alabama.
- Cushing, Frank H.
- 1896 Exploration of Ancient Key-dweller Remains on the Gulf Coast of
Florida. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 25(153):329-
448.
- Cusick, James
- 1993 Ethnic Groups and Class in an Emerging Market Economy: Spaniards
and Minorcans in Late Colonial St. Augustine. Unpublished Ph.D. dis-
sertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gaines-
ville.

Daniel, I. Randolph, Jr.

- 1998 *Hardaway Revisited: Early Archaic Settlement in the Southeast*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Darrah, William Culp

- 1951 *Powell of the Colorado*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Davis, Hester A.

- 1969 A Brief History of Archeological Work in Arkansas up to 1967. *Arkansas Archeologist* 10(1-3):2-8
- 1971 Is There a Future for the Past? *Archaeology* 24(4):300-306.
- 1972 The Crisis in American Archaeology. *Science* 175:267-272.
- 1982 History of Archeological Research in Arkansas. In *A State Plan for the Conservation of Archeological Resources in Arkansas*, edited by H. A. Davis, pp. 13-22. Research Series 21. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

Davis, R. P. Stephen, Jr.

- 1979 Archeological Salvage Excavations at 46-Ka-124, Big Chimney, Kanawha County, West Virginia. *West Virginia Archeologist* 28:20-47.

Day, Grant

- 1998 *Architectural Recordation of Surviving Mill Elements of the Kentucky River Mills Site, Frankfort, Kentucky*. Submitted to U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Louisville District, Contract No. DACW27-97-D-0013.

Deagan, Kathleen

- 1974 Sex, Status and Role in the Mestizaje of Spanish Colonial Florida. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.
- 1983 *Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community*. Academic Press, New York.
- 1987 *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies: Florida and the Caribbean*, vol. 1. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- 1996 Environmental Archaeology and Historical Archaeology. In *Case Studies in Environmental Archaeology*, edited by E. Reitz, L. Newsom, and S. Scudder, pp. 359-376. Plenum, New York.
- 1998 Transculturation and Spanish-American Ethnogenesis: The Archaeological Legacy of the Quincentenary. In *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology*, edited by J. Cusick, pp. 23-43. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale.

Deagan, Kathleen (editor)

- 1991 *America's Ancient City: Spanish St. Augustine, 1565-1763*. Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks Vol. 25. Garland Press, New York.

Deagan, Kathleen, and Darcie MacMahon

- 1995 *Ft. Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

- DeBaillou, Clemens
- 1954 The White House in Augusta, Georgia: Archeological Investigation for the Georgia Historical Commission, February 1953. *Early Georgia* 1(3):10–12.
- 1955 Excavations at New Echota in 1954. *Early Georgia* 1(4):18–29.
- 1957 The Chief Vann House, The Vanns, Tavern and Ferry. *Early Georgia* 2(2):3–11.
- DeBoer, Warren R.
- 1993 Like a Rolling Stone: The Chunkey Game and Political Organization in Eastern North America. *Southeastern Archaeology* 12:83–92.
- Deetz, James
- 1977 *In Small Things Forgotten*. Anchor Books, Doubleday, New York.
- 1993 *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- De Hass, Wills
- 1851 *History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia*. H. Hoblitzell, Philadelphia.
- 1869 Archaeology of the Mississippi Valley. In *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 17th Meeting*, pp. 288–302. Chicago.
- [1850s–1880s] *The Mound Builders, Their Monumental and Art Remains*. ARC Data Base National Check Shelf NAA MS 2430 (numbered manuscripts, 256 pages). National Anthropological Archives, U.S. Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C.
- DeJarnette, David L.
- 1952 Alabama Archaeology: A Summary. In *Archeology of Eastern United States*, edited by J. B. Griffin, pp. 272–284. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- DeJarnette, David L., and Asael T. Hansen
- 1960 *The Archaeology of the Childersburg Site, Alabama*. Notes in Anthropology 4. Florida State University, Tallahassee.
- DeJarnette, David L., and Vernon J. Knight
- 1976 LaGrange. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 22:1–60.
- DeJarnette, David L., Edward B. Kurjack, and James W. Cambron
- 1962 Stanfield-Worley Bluff Shelter Excavations. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 8.
- DeJarnette, David L., and Christopher S. Peebles
- 1970 The Development of Alabama Archaeology: The Snow's Bend Site. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 16:77–119.
- Dellinger, S. C.
- 1930 Arkansas. Archaeological Field Work in North America during 1929. *American Anthropologist* 32(2):348.

- 1931 Arkansas. Archaeological Field Work in North America during 1930. *American Anthropologist* 33(3):465.
 - 1933 Arkansas. Archaeological Field Work in North America. *American Anthropologist* 35(3):490.
 - 1936 Baby Cradles of the Ozark Bluff Dwellers. *American Antiquity* 1:197–214.
- Dellinger, S. C., and S. D. Dickinson
- 1940 Possible Antecedents of the Middle Mississippian Ceramic Complex in Northeastern Arkansas. *American Antiquity* 6(2):133–147.
 - 1942 Pottery from the Ozark Bluff Shelters. *American Antiquity* 7:276–289, 311–318.
- DePratter, Chester B.
- 1979 Ceramics. In *The Anthropology of St. Catherines Island: 2. The Refuge-Deptford Mortuary Complex*, edited by David Hurst Thomas and Clark Spencer Larsen, pp. 109–132. Anthropological Papers Vol. 56, Pt. 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.
 - 1986 Introduction. In *The Late Prehistoric Southeast: A Sourcebook*, edited by Chester DePratter, pp. xiii–lxxiii. Garland Publishing, New York.
 - 1989 Cofitachequi: Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Evidence. In *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson*, edited by Albert C. Goodyear III and Glen T. Hanson, pp. 133–156. Anthropological Studies No. 9. Occasional Papers of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
 - 1991 *W.P.A. Archaeological Excavations in Chatham County, Georgia: 1937–1942*. University of Georgia Laboratory of Archaeology Series Report No. 29. University of Georgia, Athens.
- DePratter, Chester B., Charles M. Hudson, and Marvin T. Smith
- 1983 The Route of Juan Pardo's Explorations in the Interior Southeast. *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62:125–158.
 - 1985 The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Chiaha to Mabila. In *Alabama and Its Borderlands, from Prehistory to Statehood*, edited by Reid Badger and Lawrence A. Clayton, pp. 108–127. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
 - 1990 The Juan Pardo Expeditions: North from Santa Elena. *Southeastern Archaeology* 9:140–146.
- DePratter, Chester B., and Christopher Judge
- 1990 Wateree River. In *Lamar Archaeology: Mississippian Chiefdoms in the Deep South*, edited by J. Mark Williams and Gary Shapiro, pp. 56–58. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Derting, Keith M., Sharon L. Pekarul, and Charles J. Rinehart
- 1991 *A Comprehensive Bibliography of South Carolina Archaeology*. Research Manuscript Series 211. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

- Diaz-Granados, Carol, and James R. Duncan
 1999 *The Petroglyphs and Pictographs of Missouri*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Dickens, Roy S.
 1972 *Cherokee Prehistory*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
 1979 *Archaeological Investigations at Horseshoe Bend, National Military Park, Alabama*. Alabama Archaeological Society, University, Alabama.
- Dickens, Roy S. (editor)
 1982 *Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process*. Academic Press, New York.
- Dickens, Roy S., Jr., and James H. Chapman
 1978 Ceramic Patterning and Social Structure at Two Late Historic Upper Creek Sites in Alabama. *American Antiquity* 43(3):390–398.
- Dickson, D. Bruce
 1976 *Final Report on the 1972–1975 Archaeological Site Reconnaissance in the Proposed TVA Columbia Reservoir, Maury and Marshall Counties, Tennessee*. Submitted to the Tennessee Valley Authority and the National Park Service, Contract Nos. TV-37396A and NPS CX500050178. Copies available from the Tennessee Valley Authority.
- Dickson, Don E.
 1947 Dickson Mounds, A Mississippi Cemetery Site. *Illinois State Archaeological Society Journal* 5(2):9–10.
 1956 The Liverpool Mounds. *Central States Archaeological Journal* 2:85–92.
 1969 Appendix 3: Dickson Mounds. In *Ancient Disease in the Midwest*, by Dan Morse, 69–72. Reports of Investigations Vol. 15. Illinois State Museum, Springfield.
 n.d. *The Dickson Mound Builders' Tomb, Souvenir Edition*. Lewistown, Illinois.
- Dobres, Maria-Anne, and Christopher R. Hoffman
 1994 Social Agency and the Dynamics of Prehistoric Technology. *Journal of Archeological Method and Theory* 1:211–258.
- Dollar, Clyde D.
 1968 Historical Archaeology Forum on Theory and Method in Historical Archaeology: A Paper by Clyde D. Dollar with Comment from Colleagues. *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 1967*. North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
- Dongoske, Kurt, Michael Yeatts, Roger Anyon, and T. J. Ferguson
 1997 Archaeological Cultures and Cultural Affiliation: Hopi and Zuni Perspectives in the American Southwest. *American Antiquity* 62(4):600–608.
- Doran, Glen H., and David N. Dickel
 1988 Radiometric Chronology of the Archaic Windover Archaeological Site (8Br246). *Florida Anthropologist* 41:365–380.

Douglass, Andrew E.

- 1884 Some Characteristics of the Indian Earth and Shell Mounds of the Atlantic Coast of Florida. *American Association for the Advancement of Science Proceedings* 33:599–601.
- 1885a Ancient Canals on the Southwest Coast of Florida. *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 7:277–285.
- 1885b Some Characteristics of the Indian Earth and Shell Mounds on the Atlantic Coast of Florida. *American Antiquarian* 7:74–82, 140–147.

Dragoo, Don W.

- 1956 Excavations at the Watson Site, 46Hk34, Hancock County, West Virginia. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 26(2):59–88.
- 1959a Archaic Hunters of the Upper Ohio Valley. *Carnegie Museum Annual Report* 35:139–246. Pittsburgh.
- 1959b Cresap Mound (46-Mr-7) Preliminary Report. *West Virginia Archeologist* 11:3–8.

Driskell, Boyce N.

- 1996 Stratified Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene Deposits at Dust Cave, Northwestern Alabama. In *The Paleoindian and Early Holocene Archaic Southeast*, edited by D. G. Anderson and K. E. Sassaman, pp. 315–330. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Drucker, Lesley M., and Ronald W. Anthony

- 1979 *Spiers Landing: Archaeological Investigations in Berkeley County, South Carolina*. Research Series 10. Carolina Archaeological Services, Columbia.

Drucker, Lesley M., and John D. Davis

- 1998 *River Levee and Ridge Top: Outlier Archaeology at the Nipper Creek Site (38RD18), Richland County, South Carolina*. AF Consultants, Inc., Columbia.

Drucker, Lesley M., and Susan Jackson

- 1984 *Shell in Motion: An Archaeological Study of Minim Island National Register Site, Georgetown County, South Carolina*. Resource Study Series 73. Carolina Archaeological Services, Columbia.

Duffield, Lathiel F.

- 1964 *Engraved Shells from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Le Flore County, Oklahoma*. Oklahoma Anthropological Society Memoir No. 1. Oklahoma Anthropological Society, Cheyenne.

Dunnell, Robert C.

- 1971 Excavations at the Britt Bottom Site, Marshall County, West Virginia. *West Virginia Archeologist* 23:11–30.
- 1983 Aspects of the Spatial Structure of the Mayo Site (15-JO-14), Johnson County, Kentucky. In *Lulu Linear Punctated: Essays in the Honor of*

- George I. *Quimby*, edited by Robert C. Dunnell and Donald K. Grayson, pp. 109–166. Anthropological Papers No. 7. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 1986 Five Decades of American Archaeology. In *American Archaeology Past and Future*, edited by D. Meltzer, D. Fowler, and J. Sabloff, pp. 23–52. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- 1990 The Role of the Southeast in Americanist Archaeology. *Southeastern Archaeology* 9:11–22.
- Dunnell, Robert C., Lee H. Hanson, and Donald L. Hardesty
- 1971 *The Woodside Component of the Slone Site, Pike County, Kentucky*. Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin 14.
- Early, Ann M.
- 1986 Dr. Thomas L. Hodges and His Contributions to Arkansas Archeology. *Arkansas Archeologist* 23–24:1–10.
- Elliott, Daniel T.
- 1995 *Clark Hill River Basin Survey*. Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 7. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Emerson, Thomas E.
- 1989 Water, Serpents, and the Underworld: An Exploration into Cahokian Symbolism. In *Southern Ceremonial Complex, Artifacts and Analysis: The Cottonlandia Conference*, edited by Patricia Galloway, pp. 45–92. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- 1997 *Cahokia and the Archaeology of Power*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Emerson, Thomas E., A. C. Fortier, and D. L. McElrath (editors)
- 1993 Highways to the Past: Essays on Illinois Archaeology in Honor of Charles J. Bareis. *Illinois Archaeology* 5.
- Esarey, Duane
- 1990 Style Geography and Symbolism of Mississippian Spiders. Paper presented at the 48th Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Mobile, Alabama.
- Espenshade, Christopher T., and Paul E. Brockington Jr.
- 1989 *An Archaeological Study of the Minim Island Site: Early Woodland Dynamics in Coastal South Carolina*. Brockington and Associates, Atlanta.
- Evans, Clifford
- 1955 *A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archaeology*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 160. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Evers, Edward
- 1879 The Ancient Pottery of Southeastern Missouri. In *Contributions to the Archaeology of Missouri*, by William B. Potter and Edward Evers, pp.

- 22–30. Archaeological Section of the St. Louis Academy of Science Memoir. G. A. Bates, Salem, Massachusetts.
- Ewen, Charles R., and John H. Hann
 1998 *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Fagan, Brian
 1999 An Academic Time Warp: New Archaeologists Don't Fit the Job Market. *Discovering Archaeology* 1(4):8–11.
- Fairbanks, Charles H.
 1946 The Macon Earthlodge. *American Antiquity* 12(2):94–108.
 1948 Fort Frederica National Monument. *Emory University Quarterly* 4(1):8–14.
 1950 A Preliminary Segregation of Etowah, Savannah, and Lamar. *American Antiquity* 16(2):142–151.
 1952 Creek and Pre-Creek. In *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, edited by James B. Griffin, pp. 285–300. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
 1956 *Archeology of the Funeral Mound, Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia*. Archeological Research Series No. 3. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.
 1956 The Hawkins-Davison Houses, Frederica, St. Simons Island, Georgia. *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 40(3):213–229.
 1962 Excavations at Horseshoe Bend, Alabama. *Florida Anthropologist* 15(2):41–56.
 1971 What Do We Know That We Did Not Know in 1938? *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 13:40–45.
 1974 The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County, Florida. *Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology Papers* 7:62–93.
 1977 Backyard Archaeology as Research Strategy. *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 11:133–139.
 1984 The Plantation Archaeology of the Southeastern Coast. *Historical Archaeology* 18(1):1–14.
- Fassler, Heidi
 1987 Guilfoil: A Middle Fort Ancient Village in Fayette County, Kentucky. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 1, edited by David Pollack, pp. 154–187. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Faulkner, Charles H.
 1968 *The Old Stone Fort: Exploring an Archaeological Mystery*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
 1988a Middle Woodland Community and Settlement Patterns on the Eastern Highland Rim, Tennessee. In *Middle Woodland Settlement and Cere-*

- monialism in the Mid-South and Lower Mississippi Valley*, edited by Robert C. Mainfort Jr., pp. 76–98. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- 1988b A Study of Seven Southeastern Glyph Caves. *North American Archaeologist* 9(3):223–246.
- 1997 Four Thousand Years of Native American Cave Art in the Southern Appalachians. *Journal of Cave and Karst Studies* 59(3):148–153.
- Faulkner, Charles H. (editor)
- 1968 *Archaeological Investigations in the Tims Ford Reservoir, Tennessee, 1966*. Report to the National Park Service, Contract No. 14-10-0131-1631.
- 1981 *The Weaver Pottery Site: Industrial Archaeology in Knoxville, Tennessee*. Submitted to the Tennessee Department of Transportation, TDOT Project No. I-40-7(94)389.
- 1986 *The Prehistoric Native American Art of Mud Glyph Cave*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Faulkner, Charles H., and J. B. Graham
- 1965 *Excavation in the Nickajack Reservoir: Season I*. Miscellaneous Paper No. 7. Tennessee Archaeological Society, Knoxville.
- 1966 *Westmoreland-Barber Site (40MI11), Nickajack Reservoir: Season II*. Submitted to the National Park Service, Contract No. 14-10-0131-1494.
- Faulkner, Charles H., and Major C. R. McCollough
- 1973 *Introductory Report of the Normandy Reservoir Salvage Project: Environmental Setting, Typology, and Survey*. Normandy Archaeological Project Vol. 1. Report of Investigations 11. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.
- 1974 *Excavations and Testing, Normandy Reservoir Salvage Project: 1972 Seasons*. Normandy Archaeological Project Vol. 2. Report of Investigations 12. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.
- 1977 *Fourth Report of the Normandy Archaeological Project, 1973: Excavations of the Hicks I, Eoff I, and Eoff III Sites*. Normandy Archaeological Project Vol. 4. Report of Investigations 16. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.
- Faulkner, Charles H., and Major C. R. McCollough (editors)
- 1978 *Fifth Report of the Normandy Archaeological Project: The Banks V Site*. Normandy Archaeological Project Vol. 5. Report of Investigations 20. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.
- 1982a *Seventh Report of the Normandy Archaeological Project*. Normandy Archaeological Project Vol. 7. Report of Investigations 32, TVA Publications in Anthropology 29. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.

- 1982b *Eighth Report of the Normandy Archaeological Project*. Normandy Archaeological Project Vol. 8. Report of Investigations 30, TVA Publications in Anthropology 30. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.
- Faulkner, Charles H., and Jan F. Simek
 1996 Recently Discovered Cave Art in Eastern North America. *International Newsletter on Rock Art* 15:8–13.
- Featherstonhaugh, Thomas
 1897 [Untitled.] *American Anthropologist* 10:200.
 1899 The Mound-Builders of Central Florida. *Publications of the Southern History Association* 3(1):1–14.
- Feest, Christian F.
 1978 *Virginia Algonquians*, edited by Bruce G. Trigger, pp. 253–270. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Ferguson, Leland G.
 1971 South Appalachian Mississippian. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
 1974 Archeological Investigations at the Mulberry Site. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 6(3–4). Columbia.
 1975 *Archeology at Scott's Lake Exploratory Research 1972, 1973*. Research Manuscript Series 68. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
 1992 *Uncommon Ground*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Field Museum
 1908 *Souvenir of Field Museum of Natural History, Third Annual Meeting, American Association of Museums*. Barnes-Crosby Co., Chicago.
- Fischer, David Hackett
 1970 *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*. Harper and Row, New York.
- Fischer, Fred W., and Charles H. McNutt
 1962 Test Excavations at Pinson Mounds, 1961. *Tennessee Archaeologist* 18(1):1–13.
- Fisk, Harold N.
 1944 *Geological Investigation of the Alluvial Valley of the Lower Mississippi River*. Publication 52. War Department, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Mississippi River Commission, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
- Fiske, Moses
 1820 *Conjectures Respecting the Ancient Inhabitants of North America*.

American Antiquarian Society. *Archaeologia Americana Transactions and Collections* 1:300–307.

Fitzhugh, William

- 1984 *Cultures in Contact: The European Impact on Native Cultural Institutions in Eastern North America, A.D. 1000–1800*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Flannery, Regina

- 1943 *Some Notes on a Few Sites in Beaufort County, South Carolina*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 133. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Forbes, Jack D. (editor)

- 1964 *The Indian in America's Past*. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs.

Ford, James A.

- 1936 *Analysis of Indian Village Site Collections from Louisiana and Mississippi*. Anthropological Study No. 2. Department of Conservation, Louisiana Geological Survey, New Orleans.
- 1937 *An Archaeological Report on the Elizafield Ruins*. In *Georgia's Disputed Ruins*, edited by E. Merton Coulter, pp. 193–225. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- 1938 *A Chronological Method Applicable to the Southeast*. *American Antiquity* 3:260–264.
- 1951 *Greenhouse: A Troyville-Coles Creek Period Site in Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 44, Pt. 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- 1961 *Menard Site: The Quapaw Village of Osotouy on the Arkansas River*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 48, Pt. 2. American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- 1963 *Hopewell Culture Burial Mounds Near Helena, Arkansas*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 50, Pt. 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Ford, James A., Philip Phillips, and William G. Haag

- 1955 *The Jaketown Site in West-Central Mississippi*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 45, Pt. 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Ford, James A., and Clarence H. Webb

- 1956 *Poverty Point, a Late Archaic Site in Louisiana*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 46, Pt. 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Ford, James A., and Gordon R. Willey

- 1941 *An Interpretation of the Prehistory of the Eastern United States*. *American Anthropologist* 43(3):325–363.

Ford, Janet L.

- 1977 *Seasonal Occupation and Utilization of the Yocona River Valley: The*

- Slaughter Site (22-LA-513), a Test Case. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, New Orleans.
- 1987 Calvin Brown and the Archaeology of Mississippi. *Mississippi Archaeology* 22(2):63-70.
- Ford, Richard I. (editor)
- 1978 *The Nature and Status of Ethnobotany*. Anthropological Papers No. 67. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 1985 *Prehistoric Food Production in North America*. Anthropological Papers No. 75. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Fowke, Gerard
- 1894 *Archeologic Investigations in the James and Potomac Valleys*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 23. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1910 A Reconnaissance in Southeastern Missouri. In *Antiquities of Central and Southeastern Missouri*, by Gerard Fowke, pp. 93-100. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 37. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1928 Archaeological Investigations: II. *Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 399-540. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Fowler, Daniel B., and Joan K. Pitts
- 1976 The Feather Rock Petroglyphs. *West Virginia Archeologist* 25:20-25.
- Fowler, Melvin L.
- 1950 Archaeological Field Work in White County. *Living Museum* 12:124.
- 1957 *Ferry Site, Hardin County, Illinois*. Scientific Papers 8. Illinois State Museum, Springfield.
- 1959 Modoc Rock Shelter: An Early Archaic Site in Southern Illinois. *American Antiquity* 24:257-270.
- 1978 Cahokia and the American Bottom: Settlement Archaeology. In *Mississippian Settlement Patterns*, edited by Bruce D. Smith, pp. 455-478. Academic Press, New York.
- 1997 *The Cahokia Atlas: A Historical Atlas of Cahokia Archaeology*. Rev. ed. Illinois Transportation Archaeology Research Program, Urbana.
- Frazier, David E.
- 1967 Recent Deltaic Deposits of the Mississippi River: Their Development and Chronology. *Transactions of the Gulf Coast Association of Geological Societies* 17:287-315.
- French, Mrs. John D.
- 1952 The Morton Shell Heap on Week's Island, Louisiana. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

- Fritz, Gayle J.
- 1986a Prehistoric Ozark Agriculture: The University of Arkansas Rockshelter Collections. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
 - 1986b Carbonized Plant Remains. In *The Calloway Site, a Transitional Early to Middle Woodland Camp in Martin County, Kentucky*, by Charles M. Niquette and Randall D. Boedy, pp. 90–102. Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Contract Publication Series 86-12. Submitted to Commonwealth of Kentucky Transportation Cabinet. Copies available from Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Lexington.
- Fritz, Gayle J., and Robert H. Ray
- 1982 Rock Art Sites in the Southern Arkansas Ozarks and Arkansas River Valley. In *Arkansas Archeology in Review*, edited by N. Trubowitz and M. Jeter, pp. 240–276. Research Series 15. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Fundaburk, Emma L., and Mary D. Foreman
- 1957 *Sun Circles and Human Hands: The Southeastern Indians' Art and Industries*. E. Fundaburk, Luverne, Alabama.
- Funkhouser, William D., and William S. Webb
- 1928 *Ancient Life in Kentucky*. Geological Reports Series 6, Vol. 34. Kentucky Geological Survey, Lexington.
- Futato, Eugene M.
- 1983 *Archaeological Investigations in the Cedar Creek and Upper Bear Creek Reservoirs*. Reports of Investigations 29. University of Alabama Office of Archaeological Research, Tuscaloosa.
 - 1989 Continuity and Change in the Middle Woodland Occupation of the Northwest Alabama Uplands. In *Middle Woodland Settlement and Ceremonialism in the Mid-South and Lower Mississippi Valley*, edited by R. C. Mainfort, pp. 31–48. Archaeological Report 22. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
 - 1996 A Synopsis of Paleoindian and Early Archaic Research in Alabama. In *The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast*, edited by D. G. Anderson and K. E. Sassaman, pp. 298–314. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Futch, Robin S.
- 1979 Prehistoric Human Ecology at the Morton Shell Mound (16IB3), Iberia Parish, Louisiana. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Gagliano, Sherwood M.
- 1964 *An Archaeological Survey of Avery Island*. Avery Island Inc., Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

- Gajewski, K.
 1988 Late Holocene Climate Changes in Eastern North America Estimated from Pollen Data. *Quaternary Research* 29:255–262.
- Galloway, Patricia K.
 1993 Ethnohistory. In *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by Jay J. Johnson, pp. 78–108. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Galloway, Patricia K. (editor)
 1989 *Southern Ceremonial Complex, Artifacts and Analysis: The Cottonlandia Conference*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Gardner, William M.
 1986 *Lost Arrowheads and Broken Pottery: Traces of the Indians in the Shenandoah Valley*. Thunderbird Museum, Woodstock, Virginia.
- Garrow, Patrick H., and Jeffrey L. Holland
 1996 *Final Report Postbellum Life on Hilton Head Island: The Frazier Cabin Site*. Garrow and Associates, Inc., Atlanta.
- Garrow, Patrick H., Jeffrey Holland, Lynn Pietak, and Linda Kennedy
 1996 *The Knoxville Courthouse Block: Archaeological Data Recovery Investigations on Site 40KN145, Knoxville, Tennessee*. Submitted to Barber and McMurry, Inc., Knoxville. On file at TRC Garrow and Associates, Atlanta.
- Gatus, Thomas
 1980 Appendix C: Chert Descriptions. In *Final Report-Taylorsville Lake, Kentucky: Archaeological Resources Survey and Evaluation, Season II*, edited by J. H. Sorenson. Archaeological Report 24. Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- 1983 Chert Resources of the Lower Cumberland and Tennessee River Valleys in Western Kentucky. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 7(2):99–113.
- 1987 Patterns of Chert Utilization at the Danville Tank Site. In *A Phase III Archaeological Examination of the Danville Tank Site (15Bo16), Boyle County, Kentucky*, by Randall D. Boedy and Charles M. Niquette, pp. 147–186. Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Contract Publication Series 87-07. Submitted to City of Danville. Copies available from Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Lexington.
- Genheimer, Robert A.
 1987 *Archaeological, Testing, Evaluation, and Final Mitigation Excavations at Covington's Riverfront Redevelopment Phase II Site, Kenton County, Kentucky*. R. G. Archaeological Services and Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc. Submitted to the City of Covington. Copies available at Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Lexington.
- Giardino, Marco J.
 1977 An Osteological Analysis of the Human Population from the Mount

- Nebo Site, Madison Parish, Louisiana. Unpublished master's thesis, Tulane University, New Orleans.
- 1985 Ceramic Attribute Analysis and Ethnic Group Composition: An Example from Southeastern Louisiana. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans.
- Gibbon, Edward
- 1963 *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. 3 vols. Originally published in six volumes by W. Strahan and T. Cadell, London. [1778] Reprint of the 1909 edition (first published 1889) in three volumes by Everyman's Library, London, with critical notes by Oliphant Smeaton. Random House, Modern Library Edition, New York.
- Gibson, Jon L. (editor)
- 1984 *Louisiana Archaeology and the Society: Celebration of a Decade of Achievement*. Louisiana Archaeological Society Special Publication No. 2. University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette.
- 1994 Before Their Time? Early Mounds in the Lower Mississippi Valley. *Southeastern Archaeology* 13(2):162–186.
- Giles, Eugene
- 1999 Departmental Presentation on the 40th Anniversary of the Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois. Manuscript on file at the University of Illinois.
- Gilliam, Charles E.
- 1948 The Appomattoc Tribe of Powhatan Algonkians: A Preliminary Outline of Its History, 1607–1723. *Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* 2(4).
- Gillies, Judith L.
- 1998 A Preliminary Study of Moundville Hemphill Representational Engraved Ceramic Art Style. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Gilmore, Melvin
- 1932 *Vegetal Remains of the Ozark Bluff-Dweller Culture*. Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters Vol. 14, pp. 83–102. Ann Arbor.
- Gjessing, Frederik C., John W. Griffin, J. Carver Harris, Albert Manucy, Hale Smith, J. T. Van Campen, and Doris Wiles
- 1962 *Evolution of the Oldest House*. Notes in Anthropology 7. Florida State University, Tallahassee.
- Glassie, Henry
- 1975 *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Goad, Sharon I.

- 1977 Exchange Networks in the Prehistoric Southeastern United States. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, Athens.
- 1979 Middle Woodland Exchange in the Prehistoric Southeastern United States. In *Hopewell Archaeology: The Chillicothe Conference*, edited by D. S. Brose and N. Greber, pp. 239–246. Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio.

Goggin, John M.

- 1952 *Space and Time Perspectives in Northern St. Johns Archeology, Florida*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 47. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- 1960 *The Spanish Olive Jar: An Introductory Study*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 62. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- 1968 *Spanish Majolica in the New World*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, 72. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Goggin, John M., M. E. Godwin, E. Hester, D. Prange, and R. Spangenberg

- 1949 A Historic Indian Burial, Alachua County, Florida. *Florida Anthropologist* 2:10–24.

Goggin, John M., and Frank H. Sommer III

- 1949 *Excavations on Upper Matecumbe Key, Florida*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 41. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Goldman-Finn, Nurit S., and Boyce N. Driskell

- 1994 Preliminary Archaeological Papers on Dust Cave, Northwest Alabama. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 40.

Goodyear, Albert C., III

- 1975 *An Archeological Survey of the Proposed Alternate Three Route, Southern Alternate, of the Southeastern Columbia Beltway Between 1-26 and S.C. 48*. Research Manuscript Series 77. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Goodyear, Albert C., III, and Tommy Charles

- 1984 *An Archeological Survey of Chert Quarries in Western Allendale County, South Carolina*. Research Manuscript Series 195. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Goodyear, Albert C., III, and Glen T. Hanson (editors)

- 1989 *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Papers in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson*. Anthropological Studies 9. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Goodyear, Albert C., John H. House, and Neal W. Ackerly

- 1979 *Laurens-Anderson: An Archaeological Study of the Inter-Riverine Piedmont*. Anthropological Studies 4. Occasional Papers of the Institute of

- Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Goodyear, Albert C., III, James L. Michie, and Tommy Charles
 1990 *The Earliest South Carolinians: The Paleoindian Occupation of South Carolina*. Occasional Papers of the Archeological Society of South Carolina 2. Columbia.
- Gould, Stephen Jay
 1989 *Wonderful Life: The Burgess Shale and the Nature of History*. W. W. Norton, New York.
- Graham, J. B.
 1964 *The Archaeological Investigation of Moccasin Bend (40Ha63), Hamilton County, Tennessee*. Submitted to the Tennessee Department of Transportation.
- Grayson, Donald K.
 1985 Eoliths, Archaeological Ambiguity, and the Generation of "Middle-Range" Research. In *American Archaeology Past and Future: A Celebration of the Society for American Archaeology, 1935–1985*, edited by David Meltzer, Donald Fowler, and Jeremy Sabloff, pp. 77–134. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.
- Green, Thomas J., and Cheryl A. Munson
 1978 Mississippian Settlement Patterns in Southwestern Indiana. In *Mississippian Settlement Patterns*, edited by Bruce Smith, pp. 293–330. Academic Press, New York.
- Greengo, Robert E.
 1957 *Appraisal of the Archeological Resources of the Dardanelle Reservoir, Arkansas*. Manuscript, Smithsonian Institutions, River Basin Surveys, Lincoln, Nebraska.
- Gregorie, Anne King
 1925 *Notes on Sewee Indians and Indian Remains*. Contributions from the Charleston Museum No. 5. Charleston.
- Gregory, Hiram
 1973 Eighteenth Century Caddoan Archaeology: A Study in Models and Interpretations. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas.
- Gremillion, Kristen J.
 1995a Botanical Contents of Paleofeces from Two Eastern Kentucky Rockshelters. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 3, edited by John F. Doershuk, Christopher A. Bergmen, and David Pollack. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
 1995b Comparative Paleoethnobotany of Three Native Southeastern Communities of the Historic Period. *Southeastern Archaeology* 14(1):1–16.

Greybill, Jeffrey R.

- 1979 A Preliminary Report on Recent Archeological Excavations in Mason County, West Virginia. *West Virginia Archeologist* 20:1–23.

Griffin, James B.

- 1943a *An Analysis and Interpretation of the Ceramic Remains from Two Sites near Beaufort, S.C.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 133. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1943b *The Fort Ancient Aspect: Its Cultural and Chronological Position in Mississippi Valley Archaeology.* Anthropological Papers No. 28. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 1946 Culture Change and Continuity in Eastern United States. In *Man in Northeastern North America*, edited by F. Johnson, pp. 37–95. R. S. Peabody Foundation, Andover, Massachusetts.
- 1952a Prehistoric Cultures of the Central Mississippi Valley. In *Archeology of the Eastern United States*, edited by James B. Griffin, pp. 226–238. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 1952b *Archaeology of Eastern United States.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 1952c An Interpretation of the Place of Spiro in Southeastern Prehistory. *Missouri Archaeologist* 14:89–106.
- 1967 Eastern North American Archeology: A Summary. *Science* 156:175–191.

Griffin, James B., and Albert C. Spaulding

- 1952 The Central Mississippi Valley Archaeological Survey: Season I. *Prehistoric Pottery of the Eastern United States* 2:1–7.

Griffin, John W.

- 1945 History and Archaeology in Florida. *Florida Historical Quarterly* 23(3): 184–190.
- 1949 The Historic Archaeology of Florida. In *The Florida Indian and His Neighbors*, edited by John W. Griffin, pp. 45–54. Rollins College Inter-American Center, Winter Park, Florida.
- 1994 Missions and Mills. In *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Stanley South, pp. 67–78. Plenum, New York.

Griffin, John W. (editor)

- 1949 *The Florida Indian and His Neighbors.* Rollins College Inter-American Center, Winter Park, Florida.
- 1974 *Investigations in Russell Cave.* Publications in Archaeology 13. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Griffin, John W., and Ripley P. Bullen

- 1950 *The Safety Harbor Site, Pinellas County, Florida.* Publications No. 2. Florida Anthropological Society, Gainesville.

- Griffin, John W., and Hale G. Smith
- 1948 *The Goodnow Mound, Highlands County, Florida*. Contributions to the Archaeology of Florida 1. Florida Board of Forestry and Parks, Florida Park Service. Tallahassee.
 - 1949 Nocoroco, A Timucuan Village of 1605 Now in Tomoka State Park. *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27:340–361.
 - 1954 *The Cotton Site: An Archaeological Site of Early Ceramic Times in Volusia County, Florida*. Florida State University Studies 16. Florida State University, Tallahassee.
- Griffin, Patricia C. (editor)
- 1996 *Fifty Years of Southeastern Archaeology: Selected Works of John W. Griffin*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Grimes, Kimberly
- 1986 Dietary Choices at the Mulberry Mound. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Grubb, Audry L.
- 1986 The Role of Thermal Alteration in Lithic Reduction Strategies at the Leftwich Site in Middle Tennessee. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Gruber, Jacob W.
- 1985 Archaeology, History and Culture. In *American Archaeology, Past and Future: A Celebration of the SAA, 1935–1985*, edited by David J. Meltzer, Don D. Fowler, and Jeremy A. Sabloff, pp. 163–186. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Guevin, Bryan L.
- 1983 The Ethno-archaeology of the Houma Indians. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Guilday, John E.
- 1971 *Biological and Archeological Analysis of Bones from a Seventeenth Century Indian Village (46 Pu 31), Putnam County, West Virginia*. Report of Archeological Investigations No. 4. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- Gunn, Joel D., and Kathy Wilson
- 1993 *Archaeological Data Recovery Investigations at Sites 38CT54 and 38CT58 along the S.C. 151 Jefferson Bypass, Chesterfield County, South Carolina*. Garrow and Associates, Inc. Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Guthe, Carl E.
- 1952 Twenty-five Years of Archeology in the Eastern United States. In *Ar-*

- cheology of Eastern North America*, edited by James B. Griffin, pp. 1–12. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Haag, William G.
- 1952 *Archaeological Survey of the Granada Reservoir in Mississippi*. National Park Service Southeast Region, Macon, Georgia.
 - 1958 *The Archaeology of Coastal North Carolina*. Coastal Studies Series 2. Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
 - 1971 *Louisiana in North American Prehistory*. Museum of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, Mélanges 1, Baton Rouge.
 - 1996 Geoarchaeology of the Lower Mississippi Valley. *Engineering Geology* 45:59–64.
- Hale, J. P.
- 1961 Some Local Archeology. Reprinted. *West Virginia Archeologist* 13. Originally published 1898, Gazette Publishing, Charleston, West Virginia.
- Hall, Robert L.
- 1989 The Cultural Background of Mississippian Symbolism. In *Southern Ceremonial Complex, Artifacts and Analysis: The Cottonlandia Conference*, edited by Patricia Galloway, pp. 239–278. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
 - 1991 Cahokia Identity and Interaction Models of Cahokia Mississippian. In *Cahokia and the Hinterlands: Middle Mississippian Cultures of the Midwest*, edited by Thomas E. Emerson and R. Barry Lewis, pp. 3–34. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
 - 1997 *An Archaeology of the Soul*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Hally, David J.
- 1971 The Archaeology of European-Indian Contact in the Southeast. In *Red, White and Black: Symposium on Indians in the Old South*, edited by Charles Hudson, pp. 55–66. Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings No. 5. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Hally, David J., and James L. Rudolph
- 1986 *Mississippi Period Archaeology of the Georgia Piedmont*. Laboratory of Archaeology Series Report No. 24. University of Georgia, Athens.
- Hamilton, Henry W., Jean T. Hamilton, and Eleanor F. Chapman
- 1974 *Spiro Mound Copper*. Memoir 11. Missouri Archaeological Society, Columbia.
- Hampson, James K.
- 1989 The Nodena Site. In *Nodena: An Account of 90 Years of Archeological Investigation in Southeast Mississippi County, Arkansas*, edited by Dan F. Morse, pp. 9–15. Research Series 30. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

- Hamy, E.-T.
 1968 *The Travels of the Naturalist Charles A. Lesueur in North America: 1815–1837*. Translated by M. Haber, edited by H. Raup. Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio.
- Hann, John H., and Bonnie McEwan
 1998 *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Hanson, Lee H., Jr.
 1966 *Hardin Village*. Studies in Anthropology No. 4. University of Kentucky, Lexington.
 1970 *The Jewell Site, Bn-21, Barren County, Kentucky*. Tennessee Archaeological Society, Knoxville.
- Hanson, Lee H., Jr.
 1975 *The Buffalo Site: A Late Seventeenth Century Indian Village Site (46 Pu 31) in Putnam County, West Virginia*. Report of Archeological Investigations No. 5. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- Hanson, Lee H., Jr., Robert Dunnell, and Donald Hardesty
 1971 *The Slone Site, Pike County, Kentucky*. A project of the Inter-agency Archaeological and Paleontological Salvage Program, Contract No. 14-10-0131-1130. Copies available from the Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Region, Richmond, Virginia.
- Hardesty, Donald I.
 1964 The Biggs Site: A Hopewellian Complex in Greenup County, Kentucky. *Probes* 1:14–21.
- Harper, Francis (editor)
 1958 *The Travels of William Bartram: Naturalist's Edition*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Harrington, J. C.
 1994 From Architraves to Artifacts: A Metamorphosis. In *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Stanley South, pp. 1–14. Plenum, New York.
- Harrington, J. C., and Jesse Jennings
 1934 Memorandum to Thorne Deuel. Manuscript on file, Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Harrington, J. C., Albert Manucy, and John Griffin
 1955 Archaeological excavations in the Courtyard of the Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida. *Florida Historical Quarterly* 34(2):101–141.
- Harrington, Jean C.
 1952 Historic Site Archaeology in the United States. In *Archaeology of the*

- Eastern United States*, edited by James B. Griffin, pp. 335–344. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 1962 *Search for the Cittie of Raleigh: Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina*. Archaeological Research Series 6. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- 1966 *An Outwork at Fort Raleigh*. Eastern National Park and Monument Association, Philadelphia.
- Harrington, M. R.
- 1920 *Certain Caddo Sites in Arkansas*. Indian Notes and Monographs. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.
- 1922 *Cherokee and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River*. Indian Notes and Monographs Miscellaneous Series No. 24. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.
- 1924 The Ozark Bluff-Dwellers. *American Anthropologist* 26 (1).
- 1960 *The Ozark Bluff-Dwellers*. Indian Notes and Monographs No. 12. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.
- Harris, Donald A., and Jerry J. Nielsen
- 1972 *Archaeological Salvage Investigations at the Site of the French Fort Condé, Mobile, Alabama*. Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Hawkins, Nancy
- 1984 *Classroom Archaeology: An Archaeology Activity Guide for Teachers*. Division of Archaeology, Office of Cultural Development, Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge.
- Hayden, Harry
- 1941 Tumuli Burials along the Cheat River. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 11(1):5–7.
- Heldman, Donald P.
- 1973 *Archaeological Investigations of Fort Toulouse: 1972–1973*. Alabama Historical Commission, Montgomery.
- 1976 *Archaeological Investigations of Fort Toulouse: 1973–1974 (Phase II)*. Alabama Historical Commission, Montgomery.
- Hemmings, E. Thomas
- 1977 The Core Drilling Project at Grave Creek Mound: Preliminary Results and Radiocarbon Date. *West Virginia Archeologist* 26.
- Henderson, A. Gwynn (editor)
- 1992 *Fort Ancient Cultural Dynamics in the Middle Ohio Valley*. Monographs in World Archaeology No. 8. Prehistory Press, Madison, Wisconsin.
- Henderson, A. Gwynn, and David Pollack
- 1996 New Field: An Early Madisonville Horizon Site in Bourbon County, Kentucky. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 4, edited

- by Sara L. Sanders, Tomas N. Sanders, and Charles Stout, pp. 169–233. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Henderson, A. Gwynn, David Pollack, and Dwight R. Cropper
 1988 The Old Fort Earthworks, Greenup County, Kentucky. In *New Deal Archaeology and Current Research in Kentucky*, edited by David Pollack and Mary L. Powell, pp. 64–81. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Heye, George G.
 1919 Certain Mounds in Haywood County, North Carolina. *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian* 2(3):35–43.
- Heye, Georgia C., Frederick W. Hodge, and George W. Pepper
 1918 The Nacoochee Mound in Georgia. *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian* 2(1).
- Hilgeman, Sherri
 1992 Pottery and Chronology of the Angel Site, a Middle Mississippian Center in the Lower Ohio Valley. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Indiana.
 2000 *Pottery and Chronology at Angel*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Hilliard, Jerry
 1980 Prehistoric Ozark Settlement-Subsistence and Nut Resource Utilization. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.
 1986 Selection and Use of Acorn Species by Late Prehistoric Inhabitants. In *Contributions to Ozark Prehistory*, edited by G. Sabo III, pp. 81–85. Research Series 27. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Hockensmith, Charles
 1984 The Johnson Site: A Fort Ancient Village in Scott County, Kentucky. In *Late Prehistoric Research in Kentucky*, edited by D. Pollack, C. Hockensmith, and T. Sanders, pp. 84–104. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
 1994 Experimental Pine Tar Manufacture at Cumberland Falls State Park, Kentucky. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 19(1):28–45.
 1996 *Bricks and Brickmaking in Frankfort: An Archival and Archaeological Study of the Kentucky History Center Site*. Kentucky Heritage Council Occasional Reports in Archeology No. 1. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Hodder, Ian
 1991 Interpretive Archaeology and Its Role. *American Antiquity* 56(1):7–16.
- Hodges, T. L., and Mrs. T. L. Hodges
 1943a The Watermelon Island Site in Arkansas. *Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society Bulletin* 15:66–79.

- 1943b Possibilities for the Archaeologist and Historian in Eastern Arkansas. *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 2:141–163.
- 1945 Suggestion for Identification of Certain Mid-Ouachita Pottery as Cahinnio Caddo. *Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society Bulletin* 16:98–116.
- Hoffman, Kathleen
- 1994 The Development of a Cultural Identity in Colonial America: The Spanish-American Experience in La Florida. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.
- Hoffman, Michael P.
- 1971 Partial Archeological Sequence for the Little River Region, Arkansas. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Hofman, Jack L.
- 1986 Hunter-Gatherer Mortuary Variability: Toward an Explanatory Model. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Holder, Preston
- 1938 Excavations on St. Simons Island and Vicinity, Winter of 1936–1937. *Proceedings of the Society for Georgia Archaeology* 1(1):8–9.
- Holland, C. G.
- 1970 *An Archaeological Survey of Southwest Virginia*. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology No. 12. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Hollingsworth, Claudia Y.
- 1991 The Archaeology of Sheeps Bluff Shelter (1FR324), Franklin County, Alabama. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 37:1–155.
- Holmes, J. A.
- 1883 Indian Mounds of the Cape Fear River. *Weekly Star* (Wilmington, N. C.). Reprinted in *Southern Indian Studies* (1996) 18:48–54.
- Holmes, William H.
- 1883 Illustrated Catalogue of a Portion of the Collections Made by the Bureau of Ethnology during the Field Season 1881. *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1881–1882*, 427–510. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1886 Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley. *Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences* 4.
- 1897 Stone Implements of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater Province. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 3–152. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1890 A West Virginia Rock Shelter. *American Anthropologist* 3(3):217–223.

- 1903 Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States. *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 20:1–201. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Honerkamp, Nicholas
- 1980 Frontier Process in Eighteenth Century Colonial Georgia. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.
- Houck, Louis B.
- 1913 *Obituary: Thomas Beckwith*. Normal College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri.
- House, John H., and David L. Ballenger
- 1976 *An Archaeological Survey of the Interstate 77 Route in the South Carolina Piedmont*. Research Manuscript Series 104. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- House, John H., and Ronald W. Wogaman
- 1978 *Windy Ridge: A Prehistoric Site in the Inter-Riverine Piedmont in South Carolina*. Anthropological Studies No. 3. Occasional Papers of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Howard, James H.
- 1968 *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex and Its Interpretation*. Memoir No. 6. Missouri Archaeological Society, Columbia.
- Howe, George
- 1857 An Essay on the Antiquities of the Congaree Indians of South Carolina. In *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, vol. 4, edited by Henry R. Schoolcraft, pp. 155–168. Lippincott, Grambo, Philadelphia.
- Howson, Jean
- 1990 Social Relations and Material Culture: A Critique of the Archaeology of Plantation Slavery. *Historical Archaeology* 24(4):78–91.
- Hubbert, Charles M.
- 1989 Paleo-Indian Settlement in the Middle Tennessee Valley: Ruminations from the Quad Paleo-Indian Locale. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 14:148–164.
- Huddleston, Lee E.
- 1967 *Origins of the American Indians: European Concepts, 1492–1729*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Hudson, Charles
- 1976 *The Southeastern Indians*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

- 1984 *Elements of Southeastern Indian Religion*. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- 1990 *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Spanish Explorers and the Indians of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Hudson, Charles M., Marvin T. Smith, and Chester B. DePratter
- 1984 The Hernando De Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha. *South-eastern Archaeology* 3:65–77.
- Hudson, Charles M., Marvin T. Smith, Chester B. DePratter, and Emilia Kelley
- 1989 The Tristán de Luna Expedition, 1559–1561. In *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492–1570*, edited by J. Milanich and S. Milbrath, pp. 119–134. Ripley P. Bullen Monographs in Anthropology and History 9. Florida Museum of Natural History, University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- Hudson, Charles, Marvin Smith, David Hally, Richard Polhemus, and Chester DePratter
- 1985 Coosa: A Chiefdom in the Sixteenth Century Southeastern United States. *American Antiquity* 50:723–737.
- Hutchinson, Dale L.
- 1991 *Post-contact Native American Health and Adaptation: Assessing the Impact of Introduced Disease in Sixteenth-Century Gulf Coast Florida*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Jackson, H. Edwin
- 1986 Sedentism and Hunter-Gatherer Adaptations in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Subsistence Strategies during the Poverty Point Period. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 1998 Little Spanish Fort: An Early Middle Woodland Enclosure in the Lower Yazoo Basin, Mississippi. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 23(2): 199–220.
- Janzen, Donald E.
- 1981 *The Shaker Mills on Shawnee Run: Historical Archaeology at Shaker-town at Pleasant Hill, Mercer County, Kentucky*. Pleasant Hill Press, Harrodsburg.
- Jefferies, Richard W.
- 1995 Preliminary Assessment of Mississippian Settlement at Croley-Evans Site (15KX24), Knox County, Kentucky. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 3, edited by John F. Doershuk, Christopher A. Bergman, and David Pollack, pp. 227–264. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.

- Jefferson, Thomas
 1955 *Notes on the State of Virginia*. University of North Carolina Press,
 [1787] Chapel Hill.
- Jenkins, Ned J.
 1975 Subsistence and Settlement Patterns in the Western Middle Tennessee Valley during the Transitional Archaic-Woodland Period. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 20:183-193.
 1976 The Wheeler Series and Southeastern Prehistory. *Florida Anthropologist* 28:17-26.
- Jenkins, Ned J., and Richard A. Krause
 1986 *The Tombigbee Watershed in Southeastern Prehistory*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Jennings, Jesse D.
 1941 Chickasaw and Earlier Indian Cultures of Northwest Mississippi. *Journal of Mississippi History* 3:155-226.
 1944 The Archaeological Survey of the Natchez Trace. *American Antiquity* 9:408-414.
 1991 Adventures in Mississippi Archaeology: A Learning Experience. *Mississippi Archaeology* 26(2):7-18.
- Jensen, Richard E.
 1970 *Archeological Survey of the Rowlesburg Reservoir Area, West Virginia*. Report of Archeological Investigations No. 2. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- Jeter, Marvin D. (editor)
 1990 *Edward Palmer's Arkansaw Mounds*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- Jeter, Marvin D., Jerome C. Rose, G. Ishmael Williams Jr., Anna M. Harmon
 1989 *Archeology and Bioarcheology of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Trans-Mississippi South in Arkansas and Louisiana*. Research Series No. 37. Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Johnson, Guy B.
 1934 Editor's Note. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina* 1(2):11.
- Johnson, Hunter B.
 1999 Archaeological Excavations at Pride Place and Its Role in Moundville's Economy. Paper presented at the 56th Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Pensacola, Florida.
- Johnson, Jay K.
 1981 *Lithic Procurement and Utilization Trajectories: Analysis, Yellow Creek Nuclear Power Plant Site, Tishomingo County, Mississippi*, vol. 2. Ar-

- chaeological Papers No. 1. Center for Archaeological Research, University of Mississippi, University.
- 1989 Prehistoric Archaeology in Mississippi: An Overview. Paper presented at the Digging the Afro-American Past: Archaeology and the Black Experience Conference, Oxford, Mississippi.
- 1991 Aboriginal Settlement and First Contact in Northeast Mississippi. *National Geographic Research and Exploration* 7:492-494.
- 1993a Ceramics. In *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by J. Johnson, pp. 46-77. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 1993b Conclusion. In *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by Jay K. Johnson, pp. 207-214. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 1993c Lithics. In *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by Jay K. Johnson, pp. 36-52. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Johnson, Jay K. (editor)
- 1993 *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Johnson, Jay K., and John T. Sparks
- 1983 The Three Faces of Gordon: Ceramic Site Sampling at the Gordon Mounds in Jefferson County, Mississippi. *Southeastern Archaeology* 1(2):103-114.
- Jolley, Robert
- 1983 North American Historic Sites Zooarchaeology. *Historical Archaeology* 17(2):64-79.
- Jones, B. Calvin
- 1982 Southern Cult Manifestations at the Lake Jackson Site, Leon County, Florida: Salvage Excavation of Mound 3. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 7:3-44.
- Jones, Charles C., Jr.
- 1873 *Antiquities of the Southern Indians, Particularly of the Georgia Tribes*. D. Appleton, New York.
- Jones, E. A., P. M. Samford, R. P. S. Davis Jr., and M. A. Salvanis
- 1998 *Archaeological Investigations at the Pettigrew Site on the Campus of the University of North Carolina*. Research Report No. 20. Research Laboratories of Archaeology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Jones, James Pickett
- 1995 "Black Jack," *John A. Logan and Southern Illinois in the Civil War Era*. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale.
- Jones, Joseph
- 1876 *Explorations of the Aboriginal Remains of Tennessee*. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge No. 259. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Jones, Walter B.

- 1932 Fifth Annual Report to the Board of Regents of the Alabama Museum of Natural History. Manuscript on file, Alabama Museum of Natural History, Tuscaloosa.

Joseph, J. W.

- 1989 Pattern and Process in the Plantation Archaeology of the Lowcountry of Georgia and South Carolina. *Historical Archaeology* 23(1):55-68.
- 1993a The Early American Period and Nineteenth Century in South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 25:63-74.
- 1993b White Columns and Black Hands: Class and Classification in the Plantation Ideology of the Georgia and South Carolina Lowcountry. *Historical Archaeology* 27(3):57-73.

Joseph, J. W., Mary Beth Reed, and Charles E. Cantley

- 1991 *Agrarian Life, Romantic Death: Archaeological and Historical Testing and Data Recovery for the I-85 Northern Alternative, Spartanburg, South Carolina*. Technical Report 39. New South Associates, Inc., Stone Mountain, Georgia.

Judge, Christopher

- 1987 Aboriginal Vessel Function in Mississippian Society: A Case Study from the Mulberry Site (38KE12). Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1993 A View of Site Destruction: The South Carolina Heritage Trust Program. In *Site Destruction in Georgia and the Carolinas*, edited by David G. Anderson and Virginia Horak, pp. 77-86. Interagency Archeological Services, National Park Service, Atlanta.

Kain, John H.

- 1818 An Account of Several Ancient Mounds, and of Two Caves, in East Tennessee. *American Journal of Science* 1(4):428-430.

Kane, Sharyn, and Richard Keaton

- 1993 *Beneath These Waters: Archaeological and Historical Studies of 11,500 Years along the Savannah River*. Interagency Archeological Services, National Park Service, Atlanta.
- 1994 *In Those Days: African American Life near the Savannah River*. Interagency Archeological Services, National Park Service, Atlanta.

Katzmarzyk, Cheryl

- 1998 Evidence of Stress in a Precolumbian Population from Mound G at the Crystal River Site, Florida. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Keel, Bennie C.

- 1972 *Cherokee Archaeology*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

- Keeney, Keith H., Terry Childs, and Charles H. McNutt
 1999 Surface Collections from the Friend Levee Site (3MS69) and the Friend Terrace Site (3MS70). *Arkansas Archeologist* 38:55–68.
- Kehoe, Alice B.
 1998 *The Land of Prehistory: A Critical History of American Archaeology*. Routledge, London.
- Keller, James H.
 1961 Excavations at Mount Carbon, West Virginia. *West Virginia Archeologist* 13:14–18.
- Kelley, David B.
 1990 Coles Creek Period Faunal Exploitation in the Ouachita River Valley of Southern Arkansas: The Evidence from the Paw Paw Site. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans.
- Kelly, Arthur R.
 1938 *A Preliminary Report on Archeological Explorations at Macon, Georgia*. Anthropological Papers 1. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 119. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
 1939 The Macon Trading Post, an Historical Foundling. *American Antiquity* 4(4):328–333.
- Kelly, Arthur R., and Robert S. Neitzel
 1961 *The Chauga Site in Oconee County, South Carolina*. Laboratory of Archaeology Series No. 3. University of Georgia, Athens.
- Kelso, William M.
 1971 Captain Jones' Wormslow: A Historical, Archaeological, and Architectural Study of an Eighteenth Century Plantation Site Near Savannah, Georgia. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta.
 1999 *Jamestown Rediscovery*. Nos. 1–5. Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Richmond.
- Kerr, John, and Grant Day
 1998 *The Crawford-Nurre Sawmill: Phase III Excavations at the Upton-Rose Site (15WH165) in Whitley County, Kentucky*. Contract No. DAW62–96-D-0023. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Nashville District.
- Kerr, Jonathan P., and Steven D. Creasman
 1995 *Phase III Investigations at the Martin Justice Site (15Pi92), Pike County, Kentucky*. Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Contract Publication Series 95–24. Submitted to Kentucky Department of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement. Copies available from Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Lexington.

Kidder, Tristram R.

- 1990 A Ceramic Chronology and Culture History of the Southern Ouachita River Basin: Coles Creek to the Early History Period. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 15(1):51–99.
- 1992 Excavation of the Jordon Site (16MO1), Morehouse Parish, Louisiana. *Southeastern Archaeology* 11(2):109–131.
- 1996 Perspectives on the Geoarchaeology of the Lower Mississippi Valley. *Engineering Geology* 45:305–323.

Kim, Yong W., Andrew Bradbury, Harley Lanham, Michael Morris, John E. Foss, R. J. Lewis, and C. A. Stiles

- 1993 *Phase II Archaeological Testing at Site 40JK129 and Phase I and II Archaeological Investigation of Site 40JK145, Austin Peay Bridge Replacement over the Cumberland River, State Route 56, Jackson County, Tennessee*. Submitted to Tennessee Department of Transportation, Nashville, Tennessee, TDOT Project No. 4404-1225-95. Copies available from the Tennessee Division of Archaeology, Nashville.

King, Adam

- 1991 Excavations at Mound B, Etowah: 1954–1958. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Georgia, Athens.
- 1994 Chronological Placement of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex at Etowah. Paper presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Lexington, Kentucky.

King, Adam, and Jennifer A. Freer

- 1995 The Mississippian Southeast: A World-Systems Perspective. In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analyses and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, pp. 266–288. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

King, Blanche Busey

- 1939 *Under Your Feet*. Dodd, Mead, New York.

Kline, Gerald W., Gary D. Crites, and Charles H. Faulkner

- 1982 *The McFarland Project: Early Middle Woodland Settlement and Subsistence in the Upper Duck River Valley in Tennessee*. Miscellaneous Paper No. 8. Tennessee Anthropological Association, Knoxville.

Kneberg, Madeline

- 1952 The Tennessee Area. In *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, edited by James B. Griffin, pp. 190–198. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Knight, Vernon James, Jr.

- 1985 *Tukabatchee: Archaeological Investigations at an Historic Creek Town, Elmore County, Alabama*. Report of Investigations 45. University of Alabama Office of Archaeological Research, Tuscaloosa.

- 1986 The Institutional Organization of Mississippi Religion. *American Antiquity* 51:675–687.
 - 1989 Some Speculations on Mississippian Monsters. In *The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Artifacts and Analysis*, edited by Patricia Galloway, pp. 205–210. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
 - 1990 *Excavation of the Truncated Mound at the Walling Site: Middle Woodland Culture and Copena in the Tennessee Valley*. Report of Investigations 56. University of Alabama, Alabama State Museum of Natural History, Division of Archaeology, Tuscaloosa.
 - 1992 David Lloyd DeJarnette (1907–1991). *American Antiquity* 58:622–625.
 - 1994 The Formation of the Creeks. In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, edited by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, pp. 373–392. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Knight, Vernon James, Jr. (editor)
- 1996 *The Moundville Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Knight, Vernon James, Jr., and Marvin T. Smith
- 1980 Big Tallassee: A Contribution to Upper Creek Site Archaeology. *Early Georgia* 8(1–2):59–74.
- Knight, Vernon James, Jr., and Vincas P. Steponaitis, eds.
- 1998 *Archaeology of the Moundville Chiefdom*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Krause, Richard A.
- 1989 *The Snodgrass Small Mound and Middle Tennessee Valley Prehistory*. Publications in Anthropology 52. Tennessee Valley Authority, Chattanooga.
- Kreisa, Paul
- 1995 Mississippian Secondary Centers along the Lower Ohio River Valley: An Overview of Sociopolitical Implications. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 3, edited by John Doershuk and David Pollack, pp. 161–178. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Krieger, Alex B.
- 1945 An Inquiry into Supposed Mexican Influence on a Prehistoric Cult in the Southern United States. *American Anthropologist* 47:483–515.
- Kuhn, Tom, Dewey Sanderson, and Bob Maslowski
- 1978 Excavations at Weed Shelter, 46CB56: A Preliminary Report. *West Virginia Archeologist* 27:17–27.
- Kunkel, Peter H.
- 1960 *Fort Loudoun Archaeology: A Summary of the Structural Problem*. Miscellaneous Paper No. 6. Tennessee Archaeological Society, Knoxville.

- Kurjack, Edward B., and Fred Larmar Pearson
 1975 Special Investigations of 1Ru101, the Spanish Fort Site. In *Archaeological Salvage in the Walter F. George Basin of the Chattahoochee River in Alabama*, edited by D. L. DeJarnette, pp. 199–222. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Kuttruff, Jenna Tedrick
 1993 Mississippian Period Status Differentiation through Textile Analysis: A Caddoan Example. *American Antiquity* 58:125–145.
- Kwas, Mary L.
 1996 Antiquarians' Perspectives on Pinson Mounds. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 21(2):83–123.
- Lacefield, Hyla L.
 1995 A Preliminary Study of Moundville Engraved Pottery. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Lafferty, Robert H., and Kathleen M. Hess (editors)
 1996 *Archaeological Investigations in the New Madrid Floodway*. 3 vols. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Memphis.
- Lafferty, Robert H., III, and James E. Price
 1996 Southeast Missouri. In *Prehistory of the Central Mississippi Valley*, edited by Charles H. McNutt, pp. 1–45. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Langford, George
 1919 The Kankakee River Refuse Heap: Evidence of a Unique and Primitive Culture in the Southwestern Chicago area. *American Anthropologist* 21:287–291.
 1926 Indian Mounds in Illinois. *Science* 64 (1670 supplement):xii.
 1927a Excavation of Illinois Mound. *El Palacio* 22:53.
 1927b The Fisher Mound Group: Successive Aboriginal Occupations near the Mouth of the Illinois River. *American Anthropologist* 29(3):152–205.
 1927c Stratified Indian Mounds in Will County. *Transactions of the Illinois State Archaeological Society* 20:247–253.
 1928 The Fisher Site: Exploration of the Pits. Manuscript on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois, Urbana.
 1929 The Fisher Mound and Village Site. *Transactions of the Illinois State Archaeological Society* 22:79–92.
- Lanham, Harley, and Andrew Bradbury
 1992 *Phase I Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey for Cultural Resources in the Proposed State Route 42 Realignment Right-of-Way, Pickett County, Tennessee*. Submitted to Chester, Davis, Heinze, Inc., 5556 Franklin Road, Suite 201, Nashville, Tennessee.

Larsen, Clark Spencer

- 1990 *The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: 2. Biocultural Interpretations of a Population in Transition*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 68. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Larsen, Clark Spencer, Margaret J. Schoeninger, Nikolaas J. van der Merwe, Katherine M. Moore, and Julia A. Lee-Thorp

- 1992 Carbon and Nitrogen Stable Isotope Signatures of Human Dietary Change in the Georgia Bight. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 89:197–214.

Larson, Lewis H.

- 1971 Archaeological Implications of Social Stratification at the Etowah Site, Georgia. In *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, edited by James A. Brown, pp. 58–67. SAA Memoir No. 25. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
- 1989 The Etowah Site. In *Southern Ceremonial Complex, Artifacts and Analysis: The Cottonlandia Conference*, edited by Patricia Galloway, pp. 133–141. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Lawrence, William, and Robert C. Mainfort Jr.

- 1995 Otto Sharp: A Protohistoric Site in the Reelfoot Basin, Lake County, Tennessee. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 3, edited by John Doershuk and David Pollack, pp. 265–277. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.

Leone, Mark

- 1977 Forward. In *Research Strategies in Historical Archeology*, edited by Stanley South, xvii–xxi. Academic Press, New York.
- 1982 Some Opinions about Recovering Mind. *American Antiquity* 47:742–60.

Leone, Mark, Parker Potter, and Paul Shakel

- 1987 Toward a Critical Archaeology. *Current Anthropology* 28(3):283–302.

Lesueur, Charles Alexander

- 1817– *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 1–5.
25

Levinson, Jay A. (editor)

- 1991 *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and Yale University Press, New Haven.

Lewis, Ernest

- 1951 The Sara Indians, 1540–1786: An Ethno-Archaeology Study. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Lewis, Kenneth E.

- 1976 *Camden: A Frontier Town*. Anthropological Studies 2. Occasional Pa-

- pers of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1984 *The American Frontier: An Archaeological Study of Settlement Pattern and Process*. Academic Press, Orlando, Florida.
- 1989 Settlement Function and Archaeological Patterning in a Historic Urban Context: The Woodrow Wilson House in Columbia, South Carolina. In *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson*, edited by Albert C. Goodyear III and Glen T. Hanson, pp. 225–251. Anthropological Studies No. 9. Occasional Papers of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Lewis, R. Barry
- 1990 The Late Prehistory of the Ohio-Mississippi Rivers Confluence Region, Kentucky and Missouri. In *Towns and Temples along the Mississippi*, edited by David Dye and Cheryl Cox, pp. 38–58. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Lewis, R. Barry (editor)
- 1996 *Kentucky Archaeology*. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington.
- Lewis, Thomas M. N., and Madeline Kneberg
- 1946 *Hiwassee Island*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- 1961 *Eva: An Archaic Site*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Liddell, Emil R.
- 1974a *Archeological Test Excavations in the Burnsville Reservoir, Braxton County, West Virginia*. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Section of Archeology, Morgantown.
- 1974b *Archeological Excavations in the Round Bottom Area, Hannibal Locks and Dam, Ohio River: Marshall County, West Virginia*. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Section of Archeology, Morgantown.
- Loftfield, Thomas
- 1976 “A Briefe and True Report . . .” An Archaeological Interpretation of the Southern North Carolina Coast. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Loftfield, Thomas, and David C. Jones
- 1995 Late Woodland Architecture on the Coast of North Carolina: Structural Meaning and Environmental Adaptation. *Southeastern Archaeology* 14(2):120–135.
- Longmire, Alan C.
- 1996 Archaeological Investigations at Two Nineteenth-Century Farmsteads

- in Rhea and Roane Counties, Tennessee. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Lowther, William, Carl Shields, and David Pollack
 1998 *Mississippian Adaptations along the Barren River in South Central Kentucky*. Kentucky Archaeological Survey Research Report No. 1. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Lumb, Lisa C., and Charles H. McNutt
 1988 *Chucalissa: Excavations in Units 2 and 6, 1959–67*. Occasional Papers No. 15. Memphis State University Anthropological Research Center, Memphis.
- Lyman, R. Lee, Michael J. O'Brien, and Robert C. Dunnell
 1997 *The Rise and Fall of Culture History*. Plenum, New York.
- Lyon, Edwin A.
 1996 *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- McAdams, William, Jr.
 1881 The Ancient Mounds of Illinois. *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science* 29 (Boston Meeting, August 1880). Salem Press, Salem, Massachusetts.
 1887 *Records of Ancient Races in the Mississippi Valley; Being an Account of Some of the Pictographs, Sculptured Hieroglyphs, Symbolic Devices, Emblems and Traditions of the Prehistoric Races of America, With Some Suggestions as to Their Origin*. C. R. Barns Publishing, St. Louis.
 1895 *Report of the Illinois Board of World's Fair Commissioners at the World's Columbian Exposition: May 1–October 30, 1893*. H. W. Rokker, Springfield, Illinois.
- McAvoy, Joseph M., and Lynn D. McAvoy
 1997 *Archaeological Investigations of Site 44SX202, Cactus Hill, Sussex County, Virginia*. Research Report Series No. 8. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond.
- McBride, W. Stephen
 1995 Civil War Material Culture and Camp Life in Central Kentucky. In *Look to the Earth*, edited by Clarence R. Geier Jr. and Susan E. Winter, pp. 130–157. University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- McCary, Ben C., J. C. Smith, and C. E. Gilliam
 1949 A Folsom Workshop on the Williamson Farm, Dinwiddie County, Virginia. *Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* 4(2).
- McClurkan, Burney B., William T. Field, and J. Ned Woodall
 1966 *Excavations in the Toledo Bend Reservoir, 1964–65*. Papers of the Texas Archaeological Salvage Project No. 8. Texas Archaeological Salvage Project, Austin.

- McCollough, Major C. R., and Charles H. Faulkner
 1973 *Excavation of the Higgs and Doughty Sites: I-75 Salvage Archaeology*. Miscellaneous Paper No. 12. Tennessee Archaeological Society, Knoxville.
- McCollough, Major C. R., and Charles H. Faulkner (editors)
 1976 *Third Report of the Normandy Reservoir Salvage Project*. Normandy Archaeological Project Vol. 3. Report of Investigations No. 16. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.
 1978 *Sixth Report of the Normandy Archaeological Project*. Normandy Archaeological Project Vol. 6. Report of Investigations No. 21, Wright State University Laboratory of Anthropology Notes in Anthropology No. 4, and TVA Publications in Anthropology No. 19. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.
- MacCord, Howard A.
 1952 The Susquehannock Indians in West Virginia, 1630-77. *West Virginia History* 13(4):237-253.
- McEwan, Bonnie G.
 1991 San Luis de Talimali: The Archaeology of Spanish-Indian Relations at a Florida Mission. *Historical Archaeology* 25:36-60.
- McEwan, Bonnie (editor)
 1993 *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- McGimsey, Charles R., III
 1972 *Public Archaeology*. Seminar Press, New York.
- McGimsey, Charles R., III, and Hester A. Davis
 1977 *The Management of Archeological Resources: The Airlie House Report*. Special Publication. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
- McKee, Larry
 1992 *Summary Report on the 1991 Field Quarter Excavation*. Hermitage Archaeology, Hermitage, Tennessee.
- McKelway, Henry S.
 1994 Slaves and Master in the Upland South: Archaeological Investigations at the Mabry Site. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
 1995 *Historic and Prehistoric Archeology at Falls Harbor, Jefferson County, Kentucky*. Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Contract Publication Series 95-63. Submitted to the City of Louisville. Copies available from Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Lexington.
- McKenzie, Douglas
 1964 The Moundville Phase and Its Position in Southeastern Prehistory.

- Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- McKern, William C.
- 1939 The Midwestern Taxonomic Method as an Aid to Archaeological Culture Study. *American Antiquity* 4:301-313.
- McMichael, Edward V.
- 1962 Preliminary Report on Mount Carbon Village Excavations, 46-Fa-7. *West Virginia Archeologist* 14:36-51.
- 1963a Archaeological Studies in West Virginia. In *The West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey: Its Accomplishments and Outlook*, edited by Paul H. Price, pp. 159-170. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- 1963b *Introduction to West Virginia Archeology*. Educational Series. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- 1964a 1963 Excavations at the Buffalo Site, Putnam County, West Virginia. *Eastern States Archeological Federation Bulletin* 23:9.
- 1964b The Monyttons before Us. *West Virginia Conservation* 27(9).
- 1965 *An Archeological Survey of Nicholas County*. Archeological Series No. 1. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- 1966 Three Seasons Work at the Buffalo Site, Putnam County, West Virginia. *Eastern States Archeological Federation Bulletin* 25:11.
- 1968 *Introduction to West Virginia Archeology*. 2nd rev. ed. Education Series. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- McMichael, Edward V., and Oscar L. Mairs
- 1969 *Excavation of the Murad Mound, Kanawha County, West Virginia and an Analysis of Kanawha Valley Mounds*. Report of Archeological Investigations No. 1. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- McNutt, Charles H.
- 1999 Review of *Changing Perspectives on the Archaeology of the Central Mississippi Valley*, edited by Michael J. O'Brien and Robert C. Dunnell. *Mississippi Archaeology* 34(1):77-102.
- McNutt, Charles H. (editor)
- 1996 *Prehistory of the Central Mississippi Valley*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- McNutt, Charles H., Steven Adamson, and Charles H. McNutt Jr.
- 1989 *A Phase I Reconnaissance Survey on the West Side of Elkins Branch Inlet at Tennessee River Mile 140 W, Decatur County, Tennessee (Site 40DR92)*. Submitted to the Tennessee Division of Archaeology. Copies available from Office of the State Archaeologist, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.

- McNutt, Charles H., and Jamie C. Brandon
 1995 The Sardis Cormorant Cord Impressed Vessel. *Mississippi Archaeology* 30(2):35-41.
- McNutt, Charles H., J. Shawn Chapman, and Harold E. Smith
 1990 *A Phase I Reconnaissance Survey of the J. & A. Development Tract, Northeast Huntingdon, Carroll County, Tennessee*. Submitted to the Tennessee State Archaeologist. Copies available from Office of the State Archaeologist, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.
- McNutt, Charles H., and Eda C. Fain
 1990 *The Shelby Forest Site (40SY489)*. Submitted to the Tennessee Division of Archaeology. Copies available from Office of the State Archaeologist, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.
- McNutt, Charles H., and J. Bennett Graham
 1965 *An Investigation of Pre-Ceramic Archaeological Deposits, Kentucky Lake, Tennessee*. Occasional Papers No. 1. Memphis State University Anthropological Research Center, Memphis.
- McNutt, Charles H., Christopher Koepfel, and Scott Shaffer
 1992 *Reconnaissance (Phase I) Cultural Resources Survey, Proposed Right of Way, Bay-Memphis Junction Diversity: St. Francis County, Arkansas*. Submitted to Aztec Communications, Inc., Little Rock, Arkansas. Copies available from Office of Arkansas State Historical Preservation Officer, Little Rock.
- McNutt, Charles H., and Lisa C. Lumb
 1987 *Three Archeological Sites near Hartsville: Smith and Trousdale Counties, Tennessee*. TVA Publications in Anthropology No. 48, Occasional Papers No. 14. Memphis State University Anthropological Research Center, Memphis.
- McNutt, Charles H., and Timothy Pugh
 1991 Julius Augustus Davies, M.D., an Early Contributor to Mississippi Archaeology. *Mississippi Archaeology*, 26(2):1-6.
- McNutt, Charles H., and Gerald P. Smith
 1982 Salvage Excavations at Adams and Riverside Drive, Memphis, Tennessee. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 7(2):151-175.
- McNutt, Charles H., and Richard Walling
 1989 *Phase II Archeological Testing at Sites 40JK121 and 40JK123, Jackson County, Tennessee*. Submitted to the Tennessee Department of Transportation. Copies available from Office of the State Archaeologist, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.
- McNutt, Charles H., and Guy G. Weaver
 1983 *The Duncan Tract Site, (40TR27), Trousdale County, Tennessee*. TVA Publications in Anthropology No. 33. Chattanooga.

- 1985 *An Above-Pool Survey of Cultural Resources within the Little Bear Creek Reservoir Area, Franklin County, Alabama*. TVA Publications in Anthropology No. 45, Occasional Papers No. 13. Memphis State University Anthropological Research Center, Memphis.
- McNutt, Charles H., Guy G. Weaver, and Glenda Maness
- 1984 *An Archeological Overview and Management Plan for the Holston Army Ammunition Plant, Hawkins and Sullivan Counties, Tennessee*. Submitted to National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Atlanta, Contract No. CX-5000-3-0771, Report No. 14. Copies available from National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- 1985 *An Archeological Overview and Management Plan for Volunteer Army Ammunition Plant, Hamilton County, Tennessee*. Submitted to the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Atlanta, Contract No. CX-5000-3-0771, Report No. 25. Copies available from National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Mainfort, Robert C., Jr.
- 1986 *Pinson Mounds: A Middle Woodland Ceremonial Center*. Research Series No. 7. Tennessee Department of Conservation, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.
- Manhein, Mary H.
- 1985 *Louisiana Human Skeletal Material: Anthropology's Responsibility to the Past*. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Manson, Carl, and Howard A. MacCord
- 1941 *An Historic Iroquois Site Near Romney, West Virginia*. *West Virginia History* 2:290-293.
- 1944 *Additional Notes on the Herriott Farm Site*. *West Virginia History* 5:201-211.
- Manson, Carl P., H. A. MacCord, and James B. Griffin
- 1943 *The Culture of the Keyser Farm Site (Page Co., Va.)*. Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters Vol. 29. Ann Arbor.
- Markin, Julie G.
- 1997 *Elite Stoneworking and the Function of Mounds at Moundville*. *Mississippi Archaeology* 32:117-135.
- Marshall, Richard A.
- 1986 *The Protohistoric Component at the Lyon's Bluff Site Complex, Oktibbeha County, Mississippi*. In *Proceedings of the 1983 Mid-South Archaeological Conference*, edited by David H. Dye and Ronald C. Brister, pp. 83-88. Archaeological Report Vol. 18. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Marshall, Richard A., and Robert M. Thorne
- 1971 *Archaeological Potentials of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway*. Tom-

- bigbee River Valley Water Management District and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Martin, Paul Sidney, George I. Quimby, and Donald Collier
 1947 *Indians before Columbus: Twenty Thousand Years of North American History Revealed by Archaeology*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Mason, Carol I.
 1963 Eighteenth Century Culture Change among the Lower Creek. *Florida Anthropologist* 16(3):65–81.
- Mathis, Mark A.
 1990 Ossuary Recovery at the Dickerson Site (31Br91) Bertie County, North Carolina. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, North Carolina.
 1997 The Middle to Late Woodland Shift on the Southern Coast of North Carolina. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Mathis, Mark A., And Jeffery J. Crow (editors)
 1983 *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An Archaeological Symposium*. North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
- Maxwell, Moreau S.
 1977 Forward. In *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, edited by Charles E. Cleland, pp. ix–xvi. Anthropological Papers No. 61. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Mayer-Oakes, William J.
 1955a Prehistory of the Upper Ohio Valley. *Carnegie Museum Annual Report* 34. Pittsburgh.
 1955b *Excavations at the Globe Hill Shell Heap, 46-Hk-34-1, Hancock County, West Virginia*. Publication Series No. 3. West Virginia Archeological Society, Moundsville.
- Mercer, Henry C.
 1894 Cave Exploration in the Eastern United States in 1894. *American Antiquarian* 18.
- Metress, James
 1971 An Osteobiography of the Buffalo Site, Putnam County, West Virginia. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Michie, James L.
 1966 The Taylor Point. *Chesopiean* 4(5–6):123.
 1967 Dalton Points of South Carolina. *Chesopiean* 5(1):15.
 1968a The Edgefield Scraper. *Chesopiean* 6(2):30.
 1968b The Brier Creek Lanceolate. *Chesopiean* 6(3):76.
 1969a The Broad River Point. *Chesopiean* 8(1):7.

- 1969b Excavations at Tom's (Thom's) Creek. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 1(10):2-16. Columbia.
- 1971 Excavations at the Taylor Site. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 13:47-48.
- 1973 A Functional Interpretation of the Dalton Projectile Point in South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 5(2):24-36.
- 1974 A Second Burial from the Daw's Island Shell Midden, 38BU9, Beaufort County, South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 6(1):37-47.
- 1976 Early Man in South Carolina. Manuscript on file, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1979 *The Bass Pond Dam Site: Intensive Archaeological Testing at a Formative Period Base Camp on Kiawah Island, South Carolina*. Research Manuscript Series No. 154. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1993 History and Prehistory of the Archaeological Society of South Carolina, Inc. *South Carolina Antiquities* 25:7-13.
- 1996 The Taylor Site: An Early Occupation in Central South Carolina. In *The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast*, edited by David G. Anderson and Kenneth E. Sassaman, pp. 238-269. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Milanich, Jerald T.
- 1981 True Confessions of an Archeologist. *Contract Abstracts and CRM Archeology* 2(3):9-10.
- 1993 Florida Archaeology since 1980. *Florida Anthropologist* 46:185-198.
- 1994 *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- 1995 Recent Archaeological Research in Florida. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 23:97-118.
- 1996 *Timucua*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- 1998 *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- 1999 *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Milanich, Jerald T. (editor)
- 1991a *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*. Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks Vol. 11, edited by David. H. Thomas. Garland Publishing, New York.
- 1991b *Earliest Hispanic-Native American Interactions in the Southeast*. Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks Vol. 12, edited by David. H. Thomas. Garland Publishing, New York.
- 1999 *Famous Florida Sites: Mount Royal and Crystal River*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

- Milanich, Jerald T., and Charles H. Fairbanks
 1980 *Florida Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
- Milanich, Jerald T., and Charles Hudson
 1993 *Hernando de Soto and the Florida Indians*. University Press of Florida, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.
- Milanich, Jerald T., and Susan Milbrath (editors)
 1990 *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492–1570*. University Press of Florida, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.
- Miller, Carl F.
 1956 Life 8,000 Years Ago Uncovered in an Alabama Cave. *National Geographic* 110:542–558.
 1962 *Archaeology of the John H. Kerr Reservoir Basin, Roanoke River, Virginia-North Carolina*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 182. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Miller, James J.
 1998 *An Environmental History of the Northeast Part of Florida*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Milner, George R.
 1998 *The Cahokia Chiefdom: The Archaeology of a Mississippian Society*. Smithsonian Press, Washington, D.C.
- Mitchem, Jeffrey M. (editor)
 1999a *The East Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
 1999b *The West and Central Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Mooney, James
 1894 *The Siouan Tribes of the East*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 22. Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.
- Moore, Clarence B.
 1887 Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Georgia Coast. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, 2nd series, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 1–144.
 1894 Certain Sand Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida, Part II. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 10:129–246.
 1898a Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Savannah River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, 2nd series, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 162–172.
 1898b Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Coast of South Carolina. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, 2nd series, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 146–162.
 1899a Certain Aboriginal Remains of the Alabama River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 11:289–337.

- 1899b Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Savannah River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, 2nd series, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 167–172.
- 1899c Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Altamaha River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, 2nd series, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 173–184.
- 1901 Certain Aboriginal Remains of the Tombigbee River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 11(art. 14):499–516.
- 1905a Certain Aboriginal Remains on Mobile Bay and on Mississippi Sound. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 13:279–297.
- 1905b Certain Aboriginal Remains of the Black Warrior River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 13:125–224.
- 1907a Moundville Revisited. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 13:337–405.
- 1907b Mounds of the Lower Chattahoochee and Lower Flint Rivers. *Journal of the Academy Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, 2nd series, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 425–456.
- 1908 Certain Aboriginal Mounds of Arkansas and of Mississippi. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 13(4):481–605.
- 1909 Antiquities of the Ouachita Valley. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 14:5–170.
- 1910 Antiquities of St. Francis, White, and Black Rivers, Arkansas. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 14:254–364.
- 1911 Some Aboriginal Sites in Mississippi River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 14:401–476.
- 1912 Some Aboriginal Sites on Red River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 14:526–636.
- 1913 Some Aboriginal Sites in Louisiana and in Arkansas. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 16:7–99.
- 1915 Aboriginal Sites on the Tennessee River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 16:171–422.
- 1916 Additional Investigation on Mississippi River. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 16(3):492–508.
- Moorehead, Warren K.
 - 1906 *A Narrative of Explorations in Mexico, Arizona, Indiana, Etc.* Bulletin No. 3. Department of Anthropology, Phillips Academy of Andover, Andover, Massachusetts.
 - 1912 Archaeology of the Mississippi Valley. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* 5:184–185. Springfield.
 - 1921 Cahokia Mounds: Our Greatest Prehistoric Mounds in Danger. *Literary Digest* 70(11):22.
 - 1922a Preservation of the Cahokia Mounds. *Wisconsin Archaeologist* 1:25–27.

- 1922b The Cahokia Mounds. *Wisconsin Archaeologist* 1:75–76.
- 1923 The Cahokia Mounds, Part I: A Report of Progress on the Exploration of the Cahokia Group. *University of Illinois Bulletin* 21(6):9–58.
- 1929 The Cahokia Mounds, Part I: Explorations of 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1927 in the Cahokia Mounds. *University of Illinois Bulletin* 26(4):7–106.
- 1931 *Archeology of the Arkansas River Valley*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- 1932 *Etowah Papers I: Exploration of the Etowah Site in Georgia*. Publications No. 3. Department of Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.
- Morgan, Robert T.
- 1993 Natural Disasters and Archaeological Site Destruction: The Effects of Hurricane Hugo on the Cultural Resources in the Francis Marion National Forest. In *Site Destruction in Georgia and the Carolinas*, edited by David G. Anderson and Virginia Horak, pp. 32–38. Interagency Archaeological Services, National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Morrell, L. Ross
- 1965 *The Woods Island Site in Southeastern Acculturation, 1625–1800*. Notes in Anthropology 11. Florida State University, Tallahassee.
- Morse, Dan F.
- 1967 The Robinson Site and Shell Mound Archaic Culture in the Middle South. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 1997 *Sloan: A Paleoindian Dalton Cemetery in Arkansas*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Morse, Dan F., and Phyllis A. Morse
- 1983 *Archaeology of the Central Mississippi Valley*. Academic Press, New York.
- Morse, Dan F., and James H. Polhemus
- 1963 *Preliminary Investigation of the Pinson Mounds Site Near Jackson, Tennessee*. Submitted to the National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
- Muller, Jon
- 1966 An Experimental Theory of Stylistic Analysis. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- 1979 Structural Studies of Art Styles. In *The Visual Arts, Plastic and Graphic*, edited by Justin Cordwell, pp. 139–211. Mouton, The Hague.
- 1986 *Archaeology of the Lower Ohio River Valley*. New World Archaeological Record. Academic Press, New York.
- 1989 The Southern Cult. In *Southern Ceremonial Complex, Artifacts and Analysis: The Cottonlandia Conference*, edited by Patricia Galloway, pp. 11–26. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- 1995 Regional Interaction in the Later Southeast. In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analyses and Interpretations in the Eastern Wood-*

- lands*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, pp. 317–340. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- 1996 Cyrus Thomas: Nineteenth Century Synthesis and Antithesis. Paper presented at the 61st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans [online at <http://www.siu.edu/~anthro/muller/Thomas/Thomas.html>].
- 1997a *Mississippian Political Economy*. Plenum, New York.
- 1997b Review of *Shell Gorgets: Styles of the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Southeast*, by Jeffrey P. Brain and Philip Phillips. *Southeastern Archaeology* 16:176–178.
- 1999 Review of *Changing Perspectives on the Archaeology of the Central Mississippi Valley*, edited by Michael J. O'Brien and Robert C. Dunnell. *American Anthropologist* 101(2):440–441.
- Muller, Jon (editor)
- 1992 The Great Salt Spring: Mississippian Production and Specialization. Draft report on file, Shawnee National Forest, U.S. Forest Service, Harrisburg, Illinois, and the Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Myer, William E.
- 1922 Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Tennessee. *Art and Archaeology* 14(3):140–150.
- 1928 Two Prehistoric Villages in Middle Tennessee. *Forty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1919–1924*, 485–614. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Nash, Charles H.
- 1972 *Chucalissa: Excavations and Burials through 1963*. Occasional Papers No. 6. Anthropological Research Center, Memphis State University, Memphis.
- Neighbors, M. Wayne (editor)
- 1980 *South Carolina Antiquities: The First Ten Years*. Archaeological Society of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.
- Neitzel, Robert S.
- 1965 *Archeology of the Fatherland Site: The Grand Village of the Natchez*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 51, Pt. 1. American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- 1983 *The Grand Village of the Natchez Revisited*. Archaeological Papers No. 12. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Neuman, Robert W.
- 1984 *An Introduction to Louisiana Archaeology*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.
- Neuman, Robert W., and Lanier A. Simmons
- 1969 *A Bibliography Relative to Indians in the State of Louisiana*. Anthropol-

- logical Studies No. 4. Department of Conservation, Louisiana Geological Survey, Baton Rouge.
- Nickerson, William Baker
- 1908a Stone Graves of Northwestern Illinois. *Records of the Past* 7(1):52–58.
 - 1908b Mounds of Northwestern Illinois: The Portage Group. *Records of the Past* 7(2):85–95.
 - 1912 The Burial Mounds at Albany, Illinois. *Records of the Past* 11(2):69–81.
- Niquette, Charles M.
- 1992 Woodland Settlement Patterns in the Kentucky/West Virginia Border Region. In *Cultural Variability in Context: Woodland Settlements of the Mid-Ohio Valley*, edited by Mark F. Seeman, pp. 15–17. Midcontinent Journal of Archaeology Special Paper No. 7. Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio.
- Niquette, Charles M., and Randall D. Boedy
- 1986 *The Calloway Site: A Transitional Early to Middle Woodland Camp in Martin County, Kentucky*. Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Publication Series 86–12. Submitted to the Commonwealth of Kentucky Transportation Cabinet. Copies available from Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Lexington.
- Niquette, Charles M., Randall Boedy, and Gayle Fritz
- 1987 The Calloway Site: A Woodland Camp in Martin County, Kentucky. *West Virginia Archaeologist* 39(1).
- Niquette, Charles M., and Jonathan P. Kerr (compilers)
- 1989 *Phase III Excavations at the Graham Site, A Stratified Archaic/Woodland Site in the Proposed Yatesville Reservoir, Lawrence County, Kentucky*. Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Contract Publication Series 89–26. Submitted to Huntingdon District Corps of Engineers. Copies available from University of Kentucky, Office of State Archaeology, and Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Lexington, Kentucky.
- Niquette, Charles M., Paul P. Kreisa, R. Berle Clay, and Gary Crites
- 1991 *Excavations at the Andalex Village (15Kh22) McLean County, Kentucky*. Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc. Submitted to Andalex Coal Company. Copies available from Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc., Lexington.
- Nöel Hume, Ivor
- 1963 *Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
 - 1967 *Historical Archaeology*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
 - 1991 *Martin's Hundred*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Norona, Delf
- 1962 *Moundsville's Mammoth Mound*. 3rd rev. ed. Publication Series No. 6. West Virginia Archeological Society, Moundsville.

North Carolina Archaeological Council

- 1999 *North Carolina Archaeological Council Membership*. Online at <http://www.arch.dcr.us/ncaclist.htm>.

Oakley, Carey B., and Eugene M. Futato

- 1975 *Archaeological Investigations in the Little Bear Creek Reservoir*. Research Series 1. University of Alabama Office of Archaeological Research, Tuscaloosa.

O'Brien, Michael J., and Robert C. Dunnell

- 1998 *Changing Perspectives on the Archaeology of the Central Mississippi Valley*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

O'Brien, Michael J., and R. Lee Lyman

- 1999a *Seriation, Stratigraphy, and Index Fossils: The Backbone of Archaeological Dating*. Plenum, New York.
- 1999b Americanist Stratigraphic Excavation and the Measurement of Culture Change. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 6(1):55–108.
- 1999c *Measuring the Flow of Time: The Works of James A. Ford, 1935–1941*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Office of State Archaeology

- 1999 *Archaeological Consultants and Consulting Firms*. Online at <http://arch.dcr.nc.us.consults.htm>.

O'Hear, John W., Clark Larsen, Margaret M. Scarry, John C. Phillips, and Erica Simons

- 1981 *Archaeological Salvage Excavations at the Tibbee Creek Site (22Lo600), Lowndes County, Mississippi*. Mississippi State University, Starkville.

O'Hear, John W., and Elizabeth A. Ryba (editors)

- 1999 ImmokaKina'Fa', The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of a Seventeenth to Eighteenth Century Chickasaw Village. Final report in preparation for submission to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.

Olander, William

- 1997 Museums. In *The Americana Academic Encyclopedia* [CD-ROM]. Arete, Princeton, New Jersey.

Oliver, Billy

- 1992 Settlements of the Pee Dee Culture. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

O'Malley, Nancy

- 1987 *Middle Class Farmers on the Urban Periphery*. Archaeological Report No. 162. Program for Cultural Resource Assessment, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- 1989 *Searching for Boonesboro*. Archaeological Report No. 198. Program For Cultural Resource Assessment, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

- Onions, C. T. (editor)
 1933 *Oxford Universal Dictionary on Historical Principles*. 3rd ed. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Orser, Charles
 1984 The Past Ten Years of Plantation Archaeology in the Southeastern United States. *Southeastern Archaeology* 3:1–12.
- Orser, Charles (editor)
 1990 Historical Archaeology on Southern Plantations and Farms. *Historical Archaeology* 24(4):1–126.
- Osterhout, George
 1923 After Three Hundred and Fifty Years Being the Story of Charle's Fort, Built by Jean Ribault in 1562 on What is Now Known as Parris Island, South Carolina. *Marine Corps Gazette*, June 1923:98–109.
- Otto, John
 1975 *Status Differences and the Archaeological Record: A Comparison of Planter, Overseer and Slave Sites from Cannon's Point Plantation 1784–1861*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
 1984 *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794–1860*. Academic Press, New York.
- Page, Oliver J.
 1900 History of Massac County, Illinois. *Metropolis (Illinois) Journal-Republican*.
- Parker, James W.
 1982 Archaeological Test Excavations at 1SU7: The Fort Tombecbé Site. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 28(1):1–104.
- Patterson, Thomas C.
 1995 *Toward a Social History of Archaeology in the United States*. Case Studies in Archaeology. Harcourt Brace College Publishers, New York.
- Pauketat, Timothy (editor)
 In press *Archaic to Ante-Bellum: Resistant Traditions in the Southeast*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Pauketat, Timothy, and Thomas E. Emerson
 1991 The Ideology of Authority and the Power of the Pot. *American Anthropologist* 93:919–941.
- Paynter, Robert
 1983 Field or Factory? Concerning the Degradation of Archaeological Labor. In *Socio-politics in Archaeology*, edited by J. Gero, D. Lacy, and M. Blakey, pp. 12–29. Research Report 23. Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Peabody, Charles
 1904 *Exploration of Mounds, Coahoma County, Mississippi*. Papers of the

- Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 3, No. 2. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- 1910 The Explorations of Mounds in North Carolina. *American Anthropologist* 7(3):425-433.
- Peacock, Evan
- 1994 Twenty Five Years of Cultural Resource Management on the National Forests of Mississippi. *Mississippi Archaeology* 29(2):72-81.
- Peebles, Christopher S.
- 1971 Moundville and Surrounding Sites: Some Structural Considerations of Mortuary Practices. In *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, edited by James A. Brown, pp. 68-91. SAA Memoir No. 25. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
- 1974 Moundville: The Organization of a Prehistoric Community and Culture. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- 1979 *Excavations at Moundville, 1905-1951*. Microfiche edition. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- 1981 Archaeological Research at Moundville: 1840-1980. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 24:77-81.
- 1990 From History to Hermeneutics: The Place of Theory in the Later Prehistory of the Southeast. *Southeastern Archaeology* 9:23-34.
- Peebles, Christopher S. (editor)
- 1983 *Prehistoric Agricultural Communities in West Central Alabama*, vols. 1-3. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Mobile District, Mobile, Alabama.
- Peebles, Christopher S., and Susan Kus
- 1979 Some Archaeological Correlates of Ranked Societies. *American Antiquity* 42:421-448.
- Peregrine, Peter
- 1995 Networks of Power: The Mississippian World-System. In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analyses and Interpretations in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by Michael S. Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, pp. 247-265. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Pertulla, Timothy K.
- 1994 Material Culture of the Koasati Indians of Texas. *Historical Archaeology* 28(1):65-77.
- Peterson, Drexel A.
- 1971 Time and Settlement in the Archaeology of Groton Plantation, South Carolina. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Phelps, David S.
- 1983 Archaeology of the Coast and Coastal Plain: Problems and Hypothe-

- ses. In *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An Archaeological Symposium*, edited by Mark A. Mathis and Jeffery J. Crow, pp. 1–52. North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
- 1984 *Archaeology of the Tillett Site: The First Fishing Community at Wanchese, Roanoke Island*. Archaeological Research Report 6. [Phelps] Archaeological Laboratory, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina.
- Phillips, Philip
- 1970 *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Yazoo Basin, Mississippi, 1949–1955*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 60. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Phillips, Philip, and James A. Brown
- 1975 *Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma*, vols 1–3. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 1979 *Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma*, vol. 4. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 1980 *Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma*, vol. 5. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 1983 *Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma*, vol. 6. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Phillips, Philip, James A. Ford, and James B. Griffin
- 1951 *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Mississippi Alluvial Valley, 1940–1947*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology No. 25. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Pidgeon, William
- 1853 Traditions of Da-coo-dah and Antiquities Researches. Thayer, Bridgman and Fanning, New York [extracted *Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* 14(1–2):1–5].
- Pober, Deborah F.
- 1996 Demographics, Health, and Mortuary Analysis of Ross Hammock, Florida, 8Vo131a. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville.
- Polhemus, Richard R.
- 1977 *Archaeological Investigation of the Tellico Blockhouse Site: A Federal Military and Trade Complex*. Report of Investigations No. 26. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 1987 *The Toqua Site: A Late Mississippian Dallas Phase Town*. 2 vols. Report

- of Investigations No. 26, TVA Publications in Anthropology No. 44. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Pollack, David, and Charles Hockensmith
 1992 Carpenter Farm: A Middle Fort Ancient Community in Franklin County, Kentucky. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 2, edited by David Pollack and A. Gwynn Henderson, pp. 151–186. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Pollack, David, and Cheryl Munson
 1998 Caborn Welborn Ceramics: Comparisons and Extraregional Interactions. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 5, edited by David Pollack, pp. 163–202. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Pollack, David, and James Railey
 1987 *Chambers (15Mh09): An Upland Mississippian Village in Western Kentucky*. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Poplin, Eric C., David C. Jones, and Ralph Bailey
 1993 *Fort Jackson Military Reservation Historic Preservation Plan*. 3 vols. Brockington and Associates, Inc., Charleston, South Carolina.
- Potter, William B.
 1878 Archaeological Remains in Southeastern Missouri. In *Contributions to the Archaeology of Missouri*, by William B. Potter and Edward Evers, pt. 1, pp. 5–19. Archaeological Section of the St. Louis Academy of Science Memoir. G. A. Bates, Salem, Massachusetts.
- Potter, William B., and Edward Evers
 1880 *Contributions to the Archaeology of Missouri*. Archaeological Section of the St. Louis Academy of Science Memoir. G. A. Bates, Salem, Massachusetts.
- Powell, John W.
 1894 Report of the Director. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, xxi–xlviii. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Powell, Mary Lucas, Patricia Bridges, and Ann Marie Wagner Mires (editors)
 1991 *What Mean These Bones? Studies in Southeastern Bioarchaeology*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Prentice, Guy
 1986 An Analysis of the Symbolism Expressed by the Birger Figurine. *American Antiquity* 51:239–266.
 1987 Marine Shells as Wealth Items in Mississippian Societies. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 12:193–223.
- Price, James E.
 1978 The Settlement Pattern of the Powers Phase. In *Mississippian Settlement Patterns*, edited by Bruce D. Smith, pp. 201–231. Academic Press, New York.

- Price, James E., and James B. Griffin
 1979 *The Snodgrass Site of the Powers Phase of Southeast Missouri*. Anthropology Papers No. 66. University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor.
- Price, Paul H. (editor)
 1963 *The West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey: Its Accomplishments and Outlook*. West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, Morgantown.
- Purdy, Barbara A.
 1996 *Indian Art of Ancient Florida*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Purrington, Burt
 1983 Ancient Mountaineers: An Overview of the Prehistoric Archaeology of North Carolina's Western Mountain Region. In *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An Archaeological Symposium*, edited by Mark A. Mathis and Jeffery J. Crow, pp. 83–160. North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
- Putnam, Frederic W.
 1875 Notes on the Swallow Collection. *Harvard Peabody Museum Eighth Annual Report* 1(8):16–46. Cambridge.
 1878 Archaeological Explorations in Tennessee. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 2(2):305–360. Cambridge.
- Quillian, Patricia M., and Charles H. McNutt
 1981 *Intensive Testing for Cultural, Archeological, and Architectural Features in the Proposed Right of Way for the Drakes Creek-Callendar Road Interchange, Hendersonville By-pass, Sumner County, Tennessee*. Submitted to Tennessee Department of Transportation. Copies available from Office of the State Archaeologist, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.
- Quimby, George
 1941 *Indian Trade Objects in Michigan and Louisiana*. Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters Vol. 27, pp. 543–551.
 1957 The Bayou Goula Site, Iberville Parish, Louisiana. *Fieldiana: Anthropology* 47(2):89–170.
- Quimby, Ian (editor)
 1973 *Ceramics in America*. Winterthur Conference Report 1972. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Rafferty, Janet E.
 1974 The Development of the Ft. Ancient Tradition in Northern Kentucky. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.
 1995 *Owl Creek Mounds: Test Excavations at a Vacant Mississippian Mound*

- Center. Report of Investigations No. 7. Cobb Institute of Archaeology, Starkville, Mississippi.
- Rafferty, Janet E., B. Lea Baker, and Jack D. Elliot
 1980 *Archaeological Investigations at the East Aberdeen Site (22Mo819), TRMRD, Alabama and Mississippi*. Mississippi State University, Starkville.
- Rathbun, Ted A.
 1989 South Carolina Human Remains as an Archaeological Resource: An Update. In *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson*, edited by Albert C. Goodyear III and Glen T. Hanson, pp. 1-18. Anthropological Studies 9. Occasional Papers of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Rathbun, Ted A., Jim Sexton, and James L. Michie
 1980 Disease Patterns in a Formative Period South Carolina Coastal Population. *Tennessee Anthropological Association Miscellaneous Papers* 5:52-74.
- Reitz, Elizabeth J.
 1979 Spanish and British Subsistence Strategies at St. Augustine, Florida, and Frederica, Georgia, between 1565 and 1783. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville.
 1985 Comparison of Spanish and Aboriginal Subsistence on the Atlantic Coastal Plain. *Southeastern Archaeology* 4(1):41-50.
- Reitz, Elizabeth J., and Nicholas Honerkamp
 1983 British Colonial Subsistence Strategy on the Southeastern Coastal Plain. *Historical Archaeology* 17(2):4-26.
- Reitz, Elizabeth J., and C. Margaret Scarry
 1985 *Reconstructing Historic Subsistence with an Example from Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida*. Special Publication Series 3. Society for Historical Archaeology, Glassboro, New Jersey.
- Reynolds, Elmer R.
 1889 Shellheaps of the Lower Potomac. Paper presented at the April 1889 meeting of the Anthropological Society of Washington, Washington, D.C.
- Rights, Douglas L.
 1947 *The American Indian in North Carolina*. Duke University Press, Durham.
- Rivet, Philip George
 1973 Tchefuncte Ceramic Typology: A Reappraisal. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

- Roberts, Wayne D., and Charles H. Faulkner
 1984 *A Cultural Resources Survey of the Proposed Pellissippi Parkway Extension, Knox and Blount Counties, Tennessee*. Submitted to the Tennessee Department of Transportation, TDOT Project No. 47050-0211-14, F-19(6).
- Robinson, Kenneth W., Thomas W. Gatus, and Robert L. Brooks
 1979 *Archaeological Resources Reconnaissance, Survey and Evaluation, Taylorsville Lake, Salt River Basin, Spencer, Anderson, and Nelson Counties, Kentucky*. University of Kentucky, Department of Anthropology, Archaeological Report 7. Submitted to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Louisville District, Contract No. DACW 27-78-C-0140. Copies available from the Office of State Archaeology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Rogers, J. Daniel
 1983 Social Ranking and Change in the Harlan and Spiro Phases of Eastern Oklahoma. In *Southeastern Natives and Their Pasts*, edited by Don G. Wyckoff and Jack L. Hofman, pp. 17-128. Studies in Oklahoma's Past No. 11. Oklahoma Archeological Survey, Norman.
- Rolingson, Martha A., and Douglas W. Schwartz
 1966 *Late Paleo Indian and Early Archaic Manifestations in Western Kentucky*. Studies in Anthropology No. 3. University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Roseneau, Pauline
 1992 *Post-modernism in the Social Sciences: Insights, Inroads and Intrusions*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Rossen, Jack
 1987 [Guilford Site] Botanical Remains. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 1, edited by David Pollack, pp. 167-172. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
 1988 Botanical Remains. In *Muir: An Early Fort Ancient Site in the Inner Bluegrass*, edited by Christopher A. Turnbow and William E. Sharp, pp. 243-262. Archaeological Report No. 165. Program for Cultural Resource Assessment, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
 1990 Botanical Remains. In *Continuity and Change: Fort Ancient Cultural Dynamics in Northern Kentucky*, edited by A. Gwynn Henderson, p. xx. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Rountree, Helen C.
 1989a *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
 1989b *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

- Rountree, Helen C. (editor)
 1993 *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500–1722*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Rountree, Helen C., and Thomas E. Davidson
 1997 *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Rouse, Irving
 1951 *A Survey of Indian River Archeology, Florida*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 44. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Ruhl, Donna
 1993 Old Customs and Traditions in New Terrain: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Archaeobotanical Data from *La Florida*. In *Foraging and Farming in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by M. M. Scarry, pp. 255–283. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Ruhl, Donna, and Kathleen Hoffman (editors)
 1997 Diversity and Social Identity in Colonial Spanish America: Native American, African and Hispanic Communities during the Middle Period. *Historical Archaeology* 31(1):1–103.
- Ryba, Elizabeth A.
 1997 Summit Architecture on Mound E at Moundville. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Sampson, Kelvin, and Duane Esarey
 1993 A Survey of Elaborate Mississippian Copper Artifacts from Illinois. *Illinois Archaeology* 5:452–480.
- Sassaman, Kenneth E.
 1983 Middle and Late Archaic Settlement in the South Carolina Piedmont. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
 1984 *Stratigraphic Description and Interpretation of the Mulberry Mound Site, Kershaw County, South Carolina*. Research in Anthropology 1. Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
 1985 A Preliminary Typological Assessment of MALA Hafted Bifaces from the Pen Point Site, Barnwell County, South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 17:1–17.
 1989 Prehistoric Settlement in the Aiken Plateau: Summary of Archaeological Investigations at 38AK158 and 38AK159, Aiken County, South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 21:31–64.
 1991 Adaptive Flexibility in the Morrow Mountain Phase of the Middle Archaic. *South Carolina Antiquities* 23:31–41.
 1993a *Early Woodland Settlement in the Aiken Plateau: Archaeological Investi-*

- gations at 38AK157, Savannah River Site, Aiken County, South Carolina. Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 3. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia.
- 1993b *Early Pottery in the Southeast: Tradition and Innovation in Cooking Technology*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 1995 The Cultural Diversity of Interactions among Mid-Holocene Societies of the American Southeast. In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analyses and Interpretation in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by Michael Nassaney and Kenneth E. Sassaman, pp. 174–204. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Sassaman, Kenneth E., and David G. Anderson
- 1990 Typology and Chronology. In *Native American Prehistory of the Middle Savannah River Valley: A Synthesis of Archaeological Investigations on the Savannah River Site, Aiken and Barnwell Counties, South Carolina*, by Kenneth E. Sassaman, Mark J. Brooks, Glen T. Hanson, and David G. Anderson, pp. 143–215. Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 1. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1994 *Middle and Late Archaic Archaeological Records of South Carolina: A Synthesis for Research and Resource Management*. Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 6. Savannah River Archaeological Research Program, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Sassaman, Kenneth E., Mark J. Brooks, Glen T. Hanson, and David G. Anderson
- 1990 *Native American Prehistory of the Middle Savannah River Valley*. Savannah River Archaeological Research Papers 1. Occasional Papers of the Savannah River Archaeological Research Program, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Sassaman, Kenneth E., Glen T. Hanson, and Tommy Charles
- 1988 Raw Material Procurement and the Reduction of Hunter-Gatherer Range in the Savannah River Valley. *Southeastern Archaeology* 7:79–94.
- Sassaman, Kenneth E., and Carl Steen (editors)
- 1993 Special Anniversary Issue 1968–1993: 25 Years of the ASSC and South Carolina Archaeology. *South Carolina Antiquities* 25.
- Saucier, Roger T.
- 1964 *Geological Investigation of the St. Francis Basin*. Technical Report No. 3–659. U.S. Army Engineer Waterways Experiment Station, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
- 1967 *Geological Investigation of the Boeuf-Tensas Basin, Lower Mississippi*

- Valley. Technical Report No. 3-757. U.S. Army Engineer Waterways Experiment Station, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
- 1968 A New Chronology for Braided-Stream Surface Formation in the Lower Mississippi Valley. *Southeastern Geology* 9(2):65-76.
- 1974 *Quaternary Geology of the Lower Mississippi Valley*. Research Series No. 6. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- 1981 Current Thinking on Riverine Processes and Geologic History as Related to Human Settlement in the Southeast. *Geoscience and Man* 22:7-18.
- 1983 Geomorphological Considerations Related to Cultural Resources Survey. In *Cultural Resources Survey of Items 3 and 4, Upper Yazoo River Projects, Mississippi, with a Paleoenvironmental Model of the Lower Yazoo Basin* by Robert M. Thorne and H. K. Curry, pp. 273-291. Archaeological Papers No. 3. Center for Archaeological Research, University, Mississippi.
- 1994 *Geomorphology and Quaternary Geologic History of the Lower Mississippi Valley*. 2 vols. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Mississippi River Commission, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
- Saunders, Joe W., Thurman Allen, and Roger T. Saucier
- 1994 Four Archaic Mound Complexes in Northeast Louisiana. *Southeastern Archaeology* 13(2).
- Saunders, Rebecca
- 1994 The Case for Archaic Mounds in Southeastern Louisiana. *Southeastern Archaeology* 13(2).
- Schambach, Frank F.
- 1998 *Pre-Caddoan Cultures in the Trans-Mississippi South*. Research Series No. 53. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Schatte, Kevin E.
- 1997 Stylistic Analysis of the Winged Serpent Theme at Moundville. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Schenian, Pamela
- 1988 *Report of the Archaeological Mitigation of the Onionsville Mine Complex at Approximate Green River Mile 31.8, Henderson County, Kentucky*. Archaeology Service Center, Murray State University, Murray, Kentucky.
- Scholtz, James A.
- 1965 An Archeological Survey of the Beaver Reservoir Area in Northwest Arkansas. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas.
- Scholtz, Sandra P.
- 1975 *Prehistoric Plies: A Structural and Comparative Analysis of Cordage*,

- Netting, Basketry, and Fabric from Ozark Bluff Shelters*. Research Series No. 9. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Schoolcraft, Henry R.
 1851–57 *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, vols. 1–6. Collected and prepared under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Lippincott, Grambo and Company, Philadelphia.
- Schroedl, Gerald F.
 1982 *Overhill Cherokee Archaeology at Chota-Tanasee*. Report of Investigations No. 38. University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology, Knoxville.
- Schroedl, Gerald F., and Richard R. Polhemus
 1977 *A Summary and Preliminary Interpretation of Archaeological Investigations at the Toqua Site (40MR6)*. Submitted to the National Park Service, Contract No. CX-5880-7-0055.
- Schwartz, Douglas W.
 1967 *Conceptions of Kentucky Prehistory*. Studies in Anthropology No. 6. University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Scully, Edward G.
 1951 *Some Central Mississippi Valley Projectile Point Types*. Manuscript on file, University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor.
- Scurlock, Dan J.
 1964 *Archaeological Reconnaissance at Toledo Bend Reservoir, 1962–1963 Season*. Texas Archaeological Salvage Report to the National Park Service. University of Texas, Austin.
- Seaberg, Lillian
 1951 Report on the Indian Site at the “Fountain of Youth.” Manuscript on file, Florida Museum of Natural History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Reprinted 1991, in *America’s Ancient City: Spanish St Augustine, 1565–1763*, edited by Kathleen Deagan, pp. 209–279. Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks Vol. 25. Garland Press, New York.
- Sears, William H.
 1950 Preliminary Report on the Excavation of an Etowah Valley Site. *American Antiquity* 16(2):137–142.
 1951a *Excavations at Kolomoki: Season I—1948*. University of Georgia Series in Anthropology No. 2. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
 1951b *Excavations at Kolomoki: Season II—Mound E*. University of Georgia Series in Anthropology No. 3. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
 1953 *Excavations at Kolomoki: Seasons III and IV—Mound D*. University of Georgia Series in Anthropology No. 4. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

- 1956 *Excavations at Kolomoki: Final Report*. University of Georgia Series in Anthropology No. 5. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
 - 1957 *Excavations on Lower St. Johns River, Florida*. Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Social Sciences No. 2. Florida State Museum, Gainesville.
 - 1958 *The Wilbanks Site (9CK-5), Georgia*. River Basin Surveys Papers No. 13, pp. 129–191. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 169. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
 - 1960 *The Bayshore Homes Site, St. Petersburg, Florida*. Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Social Sciences No. 6. Florida State Museum, Gainesville.
 - 1963 *The Tucker Site on Alligator Harbor, Franklin County, Florida*. Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Social Sciences No. 9. Florida State Museum, Gainesville.
 - 1982 *Fort Center: An Archaeological Site in the Lake Okeechobee Basin*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Sellers, George Escol
- 1877 Aboriginal Pottery of the Salt-Springs, Illinois. *Popular Science Monthly* 11:573–585.
- Setzler, Frank M.
- 1960 Welcome Mound and the Effigy Pipes of the Adena People. *Proceedings of the U.S. National Museum* 112(3441):451–458. Washington, D.C.
- Setzler, Frank M., and Jesse D. Jennings
- 1941 *Peachtree Mound and Village Site, Cherokee County, North Carolina*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 131. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Sharer, Robert, and Wendy Ashmore
- 1988 *Discovering Our Past: A Brief Introduction to Archaeology*. Mayfield Publishing, Mountain View, California.
- Sharp, William
- 1984 The Dry Run Site: An Early Ft. Ancient Site in the Bluegrass. In *Late Prehistoric Research in Kentucky*, edited by David Pollack, pp. 105–129. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Sharp, William, and David Pollack
- 1992 The Florence Site Complex: Two Fourteenth Century Ancient Communities in Harrison County, Kentucky. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 2, edited by David Pollack and A. Gwynn Henderson, pp. 187–222. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Sheldon, Craig T., Jr.
- 1974 *The Mississippian-Historic Transition in Central Alabama*. Ph.D. dis-

- sertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon. University Microfilms International 375-4526.
- Sheldon, Craig T., Jr., and John W. Cottier
 1983 *Origins of Mobile: Archaeological Excavations at the Courthouse Site, Mobile, Alabama*. Auburn University Archaeological Monograph 5. Auburn University Press, Montgomery, Alabama.
- Silverberg, Robert
 1968 *Moundbuilders of Ancient America*. New York Graphics Society, Greenwich.
- Silvia, Diane E.
 1998 Indian and French Interaction in Colonial Louisiana during the Early Eighteenth Century. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.
- Simek, Jan F., Jay D. Franklin, and Sarah C. Sherwood
 1998 The Context of Early Southeastern Prehistoric Cave Art: A Report on the Archaeology of 3rd Unnamed Cave. *American Antiquity* 63(4):663-677.
- Singleton, Theresa A.
 1990 The Archaeology of the Plantation South: A Review of Approaches and Goals. *Historical Archaeology* 24(4):70-77.
 1995 The Archaeology of Slavery in North America. *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* 24:119-140.
 1998 Cultural Interaction and African American Identity in Plantation Archaeology. In *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology*, edited by James Cusick, pp. 172-190. Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Papers 25. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Singleton, Teresa A. (editor)
 1985 *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*. Academic Press, New York.
 1999 "I, Too, Am America": *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.
- Slattery, Richard G. M., and Douglas Woodward
 1992 *The Montgomery Focus: A Late Woodland Potomac River Culture*. Bulletin No. 2. Archeological Society of Maryland, Fallston.
- Smith, Bruce D.
 1990 *The Mississippian Emergence*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Smith, Gerald P.
 1984 *The Hand Site, Southampton County, Virginia*. Special Publication No. 11. Archeological Society of Virginia, Richmond.

Smith, Hale G.

- 1948a Two Historical Archaeological Periods in Florida. *American Antiquity* 13:313–319.
- 1948b Results of an Archaeological Investigation of a Spanish Mission Site in Jefferson County, Florida. *Florida Anthropologist* 1:1–10.
- 1956 *The European and the Indian: European-Indian Contacts in Georgia and Florida*. Florida Anthropological Society Publication No. 4; Florida State University Department of Anthropology Notes in Anthropology 2. Florida State University, Tallahassee.
- 1965 *Santa Rosa Pensacola*. Florida State University Notes in Anthropology 10. Florida State University, Tallahassee.
- 1994 Ventures into the Unknown. In *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Stanley South, pp. 79–84. Plenum, New York.

Smith, Harlan I.

- 1910 *The Prehistoric Ethnology of a Kentucky Site*. Anthropological Papers Vol. 6, pp. 173–180. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Smith, Harold E.

- 1997 *Small Upland Mississippian Sites in the Western Coalfields of Kentucky: A Report on the Archaeological Investigations at the Perkins (15Hk21) and Holland (15Hk248) Sites, Hopkins County, Kentucky*. Vaughan Engineering. Copies available from the Office of State Archaeology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

Smith, Marvin T.

- 1987 *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation during the Early Historic Period*. Ripley P. Bullen Monographs in Anthropology and History No. 6. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- 1989 Early Historic Period Vestiges of the Southern Cult. In *Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, Artifacts and Analysis: The Cottonlandia Conference*, edited by Patricia Galloway, pp. 142–146. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- 1995 Woods Island Revisited. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 41(2):93–106.

Smith, Marvin T., Vernon J. Knight Jr., Julie B. Smith, and Kenneth R. Turner

- 1993 The Milner Village: A Mid-Seventeenth Century Site near Gadsden, Alabama. In *Archaeological Survey and Excavations in the Coosa River Valley, Alabama*, edited by Vernon J. Knight, pp. 49–61. Bulletin No. 15. Alabama Museum of Natural History, Tuscaloosa.

Smith, Samuel

- 1996 *A Bibliographic History of Historical Archaeology in Tennessee*. Miscellaneous Publication No. 4. Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.

Smith, Samuel D., and Stephen T. Rogers

- 1979 *A Survey of Historic Pottery Making in Tennessee*. Research Series No. 3. Tennessee Department of Conservation, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.

Smith, Samuel D., Charles P. Stripling, and James M. Brannon

- 1988 *A Cultural Resource Survey of Tennessee's Western Highland Rim Iron Industry, 1790s-1930*. Research Series No. 8. Tennessee Department of Conservation, Division of Archaeology, Nashville.

Snyder, John F.

- 1877 Deposits of Flint Implements. *Smithsonian Institution 1876 Annual Report*, 433-441. Washington, D.C.
- 1882 Who Were the Mound Builders? *Kansas Review of Science and Industry* 5:661-667.
- 1883a Buried Flints in Cass County, Illinois. *Smithsonian Institution 1881 Annual Report*, 563-568. Washington, D.C.
- 1883b Indian Remains in Cass County, Illinois. *Smithsonian Institution 1881 Annual Report*, 579-586. Washington, D.C.
- 1893a Buried Deposits of Hornstone Disks. *Archaeologist* 1(10):181-186.
- 1893b Buried Deposits of Hornstone Disks. *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science* 42:318-324.
- 1894a Deposits of Flint Implements. *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science* 42.
- 1894b An Illinois "Teocalli." *Archaeologist* 2(9):259-264.
- 1895 A Group of Illinois Mounds. *Archaeologist* 3(3):77-81. [Continued in *Archaeologist* 3(4):109-113.]
- 1898 A Group of Illinois Mounds. *American Archaeologist* 2:16-23.
- 1900 The Field for Archaeological Research in Illinois. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 4:21-29.
- 1908 Prehistoric Illinois: The Brown County Ossuary. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 1(2-3):33-43.
- 1909a Prehistoric Illinois: Certain Indian Mounds Technically Considered, Part First: The Effigy Mounds. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 1(4):31-40.
- 1909b Prehistoric Illinois: Certain Indian Mounds Technically Considered, Part Second: Sepulchral and Memorial Mounds. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 2(1):47-65.
- 1909c Prehistoric Illinois: Certain Indian Mounds Technically Considered, Part Third: Temple or Domiciliary Mounds. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 2(2):71-92.
- 1910 Prehistoric Illinois: The Primitive Flint Industry. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 3(2):11-25.

- 1911 Prehistoric Illinois: Its Psychozoic Problems. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 4:288–302.
 - 1912 The Kaskaskia Indians: A Tentative Hypothesis. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 5:231–245.
 - 1913 *The Prehistoric Mounds of Illinois*. Monks of Cahokia, Cahokia.
 - 1914 Prehistoric Illinois: The Great Cahokia Mound. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 6:506–508.
 - 1917 The Great Cahokia Mound. *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 10:256–259.
 - 1962a A Group of Illinois Mounds. In *John Francis Snyder: Selected Writings*, edited by Clyde C. Walton, pp. 193–215. Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield.
 - 1962b Prehistoric Illinois: The Brown County Ossuary. In *John Francis Snyder: Selected Writings*, edited by Clyde C. Walton, pp. 216–229. Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield.
 - 1962c Certain Indian Mounds Technically Considered. In *John Francis Snyder: Selected Writings*, edited by Clyde C. Walton, pp. 230–273. Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield.
- Soday, Frank J.
- 1953 The Quad Site: A Paleo-Indian Village in Northern Alabama. *Tennessee Archaeologist* 10:1–20.
- Solecki, Ralph S.
- 1949a An Archeological Survey of Two River Basins in West Virginia, Part I. *West Virginia History* 10(3):189–214.
 - 1949b An Archeological Survey of Two River Basins in West Virginia, Part II. *West Virginia History* 10(4):319–432.
 - 1953 *Exploration of an Adena Mound at Natrium, West Virginia*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 151. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- South, Stanley A.
- 1959a A Study of the Prehistory of the Roanoke Rapids Basin. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
 - 1959b Description of the Ceramic Types from Brunswick Town State Historic Site. Manuscript on file, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
 - 1965 Excavating the Eighteenth Century Moravian Town of Bethabara, North Carolina. *Florida Anthropologist* 18(Pt. 2):45–48.
 - 1967 “Russellborough”: Two Royal Governors’ Mansion at Brunswick Town. *North Carolina Historical Review* 44(4):360–372.
 - 1970a The Historical Archeologist and Historic Site Development. University

- of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 2(9–12):90–102. Columbia.
- 1971 *Archeology at the Charles Towne Site (38CH1) on Albemarle Point in South Carolina*. Research Manuscript Series 10. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1972a *Evolution and Horizon as Revealed in Ceramic Analysis in Historical Archeology*. Papers of the 1971 Conference on Historic Site Archaeology. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1972b *Archaeological Investigations at the Site of Williamson's Fort of 1775, Holme's Fort of 1780, and the Town of Cambridge of 1730–1850s*. Research Manuscript Series 18. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1973 *Indian Pottery Taxonomy for the South Carolina Coast*. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 5(2):54–55. Columbia.
- 1974 *Palmetto Parapets: Exploratory Archeology at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, 38CH50*. Anthropological Studies 1. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1975 *Fickle Forts at Windmill Point: Exploratory Archaeology at Fort Johnson, South Carolina*. Research Manuscript Series 81. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1976 *An Archaeological Survey of Southeastern North Carolina*. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 8. Columbia.
- 1977a *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology: The Scientific Paradigm*. In *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Stanley South, pp. 1–12. Academic Press, New York.
- 1977b *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
- 1977c *Preface and Chairman's Report*. Papers of the 1976 Conference on Historic Site Archaeology. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1979 *The Search for Santa Elena*. Research Manuscript Series 150. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1980 *The Discovery of Santa Elena*. Research Manuscript Series 165. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1982 *Exploring Santa Elena 1981*. Research Manuscript Series 184. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

- 1983a *The Chairman's Final Report for the Final Volume of the Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*. Papers of the 1980 Conference on Historic Site Archaeology. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1983b *Revealing Santa Elena 1982*. Research Manuscript Series 188. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1984 *Testing Archaeological Sampling Methods at Fort San Felipe 1983*. Research Manuscript Series 190. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1985 *Excavation of the Casa Fuerte and Wells at Fort San Felipe 1984*. Research Manuscript Series 196. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1988 Whither Pattern? *Historical Archaeology* 22:25–28.
- 1991 *Archaeology at Santa Elena: Doorway to the Past*. Popular Series 2. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- 1993a Strange Fruit: Historical Archaeology, 1972–1977. *Historical Archaeology* 27(1):15–18.
- 1993b Historical Archaeology of the Exploratory Period in South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 25:52–55.
- 1995 Reconstruction of the Town House on the Mound. In *Town Creek Indian Mound: A Native American Legacy*, edited by J. Coe, pp. 282–300. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- 1996 Some Thoughts on Theory in Historical Archaeology: A Personal Perspective. *Review of Archaeology* 17(2):10–12.
- 1999 *Historical Archaeology in Wachovia: Excavating Eighteenth Century Bethabara and Moravian Pottery*. Lower Academic/Plenum, New York.
- South, Stanley A. (editor)
- 1968 Historical Archaeology Forum on Theory and Method in Historical Archaeology. *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 1967*. North Carolina Department of Archives and History. Raleigh.
- 1977 *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
- 1994 Preface. In *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology*, edited by Stanley South, pp. v–xi. Plenum, New York
- South, Stanley, and William Hunt
- 1986 *Discovering Santa Elena West of Fort San Felipe*. Research Manuscript Series 200. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- South, Stanley, Russell Skowronek, and Richard Johnson
- 1988 *Spanish Artifacts from Santa Elena*. Anthropological Studies 7. Institute

- of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Southerlin, Bobby, Dawn Reid, and Joseph Sanders
 1999 *The Grand Strand Frontier: Mississippian Period Occupation at the Tidewater Site (38HR254), Horry County, South Carolina*. Brockington and Associates, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Spainhour, J. M.
 1873 Antiquities of Lenoir County, North Carolina. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents, Smithsonian Institution, 1871*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Speck, Frank G.
 1928 *Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia*. Indian Notes and Monographs Vol. 1. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.
- Springer, James W.
 1973 Prehistory and Cultural Geography of Coastal Louisiana. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven.
- Sprunt, James
 1916 *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River: 1600–1916*. 2nd ed. Edwards and Broughton Printing, Raleigh.
- Squier, Ephriam G., and E. H. Davis (editors)
 1848 *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 1. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Steen, Carl
 1993 Historical Archaeology of the British Colonial Period in South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 25:56–62.
- Stephenson, Robert L.
 1971 A Basic Inventory of Archeological Sites in South Carolina. Research Manuscript Series 23. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
 1975 An Archeological Preservation Plan for South Carolina. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 7(2/3):41–109. Columbia.
- Steponaitis, Vincas P.
 1983 *Ceramics, Chronology, and Community Patterns: An Archaeological Study at Moundville*. Academic Press, New York.
 1991 Contrasting Patterns of Mississippian Development. In *Chieftdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology*, edited by Timothy Earle, pp. 193–228. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 1992 Excavations 1Tu50, an Early Mississippian Center near Moundville. *Southeastern Archaeology* 11:1–13.

Stewart, T. Dale

- 1992 *Archaeological Exploration of Patawomeke: The Indian Town Site (44 St 2) Ancestral to the One (44 St 1) Visited in 1608 by Captain John Smith*. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology Number 36. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Stewart-Abernathy, Leslie C.

- 1986 *The Moser Farmstead, Independent but Not Isolated: The Archeology of a Late Nineteenth Century Ozark Farmstead*. Research Series 26. Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

Stewart-Abernathy Leslie C., and Barbara L. Ruff

- 1989 A Good Man in Israel: Zooarchaeology and Assimilation in Antebellum Washington, Arkansas. *Historical Archaeology* 23(2):96-112.

Stine, Linda F., Leslie M. Ducker, Martha Zierden, and Christopher Judge

- 1993 *Historic Landscapes in South Carolina: Historical Archaeological Perspectives on the Land and Its People*, Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists, Columbia.

Stoltman, James B.

- 1966 New Radiocarbon Dates for Southeastern Fiber-Tempered Pottery. *American Antiquity* 31:872-874.
- 1973 The Southeastern United States. In *The Development of North American Archeology*, edited by James E. Fitting, pp. 117-150. Anchor Books, Garden City, New York.
- 1974 *Groton Plantation: An Archaeological Study of a South Carolina Locality*. Monographs of the Peabody Museum No. 1. Harvard University, Cambridge.

Stowe, N. Read

- 1970 Prehistoric Cultural Ecology in Northwest Alabama. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- 1977 *Archaeological Excavations at Port Dauphin*. Archaeological Research Series 1. University of South Alabama, Mobile.
- 1982 *A Preliminary Report on the Pine Log Creek Site (1BA462)*. University of South Alabama, Mobile.

Struever, Stuart, and John Carlson

- 1977 Koster Site: The New Archaeology in Action. *Archaeology* 30(2):93-101.

Struever, Stuart, and Felicia Antonelli Holton

- 1979 *Koster: Americans in Search of Their Prehistoric Past*. Anchor Press, Garden City, New York.

Stuart, George E.

- 1970 Some Archeological Sites in the Middle Wateree Valley, South Carolina.

- Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
- 1975 The Post-Archaic Occupation of Central South Carolina. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Sutherland, Donald R.
- 1974 Excavations at the Spanish Mount Shell Midden, Edisto Island, South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 6(1):25–36.
- Swallow, George C.
- 1858 Indian Mounds in New Madrid County, Missouri. *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis* 1:36.
- Swanton, John R. (editor)
- 1985 *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*. Reprinted. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C. Originally published 1939, U.S. House of Representatives, 76th Congress Document 71, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Swauger, James L.
- 1961 *Petroglyphs of the Upper Ohio Valley*. Archives Archeological No. 17 (microcard). University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Taft, Kristi E.
- 1996 Functionally Relevant Classes of Pottery at Moundville. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Taylor, Walter W.
- 1948 A Study of Archaeology. Memoir 69. *American Anthropologist* 50(pt. 2).
- Thomas, Brian W.
- 1994 Inclusion and Exclusion in the Moravian Settlement in North Carolina, 1770–1790. *Historical Archaeology* 28(3):15–29.
- 1998 Power and Community: The Archaeology of Slavery at the Hermitage Plantation. *American Antiquity* 63(4):531–552.
- Thomas, Cyrus
- 1883 Mound Explorations in Southern Illinois. In Abstract of Papers Presented at the 60th Regular Meeting, December 5, 1882. *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington* 2:39–40.
- 1885 A Modern Mound Burial. *American Antiquarian* 7:240.
- 1887a Burial Mounds of the Northern Sections of the United States. *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1887b *Work in Mound Exploration of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Bureau of

- American Ethnology Bulletin 4. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1889 Mound in Calhoun County, Illinois. *Science* 13(326):349.
- 1891 *Catalogue of Prehistoric Works East of the Rocky Mountains*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 12. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1894 *Twelfth Annual Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1899 The Cahokia Mounds: A Suggestion. *American Archaeologist* 3(1):1-2.
- 1907a Cahokia or Monk's Mound. *American Anthropologist* 9:362-365.
- 1907b *Cahokia Mound*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Thomas, David Hurst
- 1993 Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: Our First Fifteen Years. In *Spanish Missions of La Florida*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan, pp. 1-34. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- 1998 *Archaeology*. Harcourt Brace College Publishers, New York.
- Thomas, David Hurst (editor)
- 1989 *Columbian Consequences: Vol. 1. Archaeological and Historical Perspectives in the Spanish Borderlands West*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- 1990 *Columbian Consequences: Vol. 2. Archaeological and Historical Perspectives in the Spanish Borderlands East*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Thomas, Prentice M., Jr.
- 1977 *Archaeological Investigations at Fort Southwest Point (40RE119), Kingston, Tennessee*. Submitted to the Tennessee Historical Commission, Project No. 47-74-00038.
- Thomas, Ronald A.
- 1969 Breckenridge: A Stratified Shelter in Northwest Arkansas. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.
- Thomas, Ronald A., and Hester A. Davis
- 1966 Excavations in Prall Shelter (3BE187) in Beaver Reservoir, Northwest Arkansas. *Arkansas Archeologist* 7(4):62-79.
- Thompson, Robert J.
- 1970 An Annotated Bibliography of Sources Pertaining to the Indian and Colonial Archaeology of South Carolina. University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology *Notebook* 2(8). Columbia.
- Thorne, Robert M. (editor)
- 1977 *Cultural Resources Survey, Item I, Upper Yazoo Projects, Yazoo River*,

- Mississippi, between SRM 75.6 and 107.8. Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Mississippi, University.
- 1983 *Cultural Resources Survey of Items 3 and 4, Upper Yazoo Projects, Mississippi with a Paleoenvironmental Model of the Lower Yazoo Basin*. Center for Archaeological Research, University of Mississippi, University.
- Thorne, Robert M., Bettye J. Broyles, and Jay K. Johnson
- 1981 *Lithic Procurement and Utilization Trajectories: Archaeological Survey and Excavations, Yellow Creek Nuclear Power Plant Site, Tishomingo County, Mississippi*, vol. 1. Archaeological Papers No. 1. Center for Archaeological Research, University of Mississippi, University.
- Thorne, Robert M., and H. K. Curry
- 1983 *Cultural Resources Survey of Items 3 and 4, Upper Yazoo River Projects, Mississippi, with a Paleoenvironmental Model of the Lower Yazoo Basin*. Archaeological Papers No. 3. Center for Archaeological Research, University of Mississippi, University.
- Thorne, Robert M., and Jay K. Johnson
- 1987 *Cultural Resource Studies of Six Watersheds, Demonstration Erosion Control Project, Yazoo Basin, Mississippi, Phase I*. Center for Archaeological Research, University of Mississippi, University.
- Tisdale, John W.
- 1953 *The Story of the Occoneechees*. Dietz Press, Richmond.
- Titterton, Paul F.
- 1933a The Cahokia Mound Group and Its Surface Material. *Wisconsin Archaeologist* 13:7–14.
- 1933b Mound Excavation in Jersey County, the Isringhausen Mound Group, Rosedale Township. *Transactions of the Illinois State Archaeological Society* 25:99–100.
- 1934 A Classification of Cahokia Projectile Points. *Transactions of the Illinois State Archaeological Society* 26:58.
- 1935 Certain Bluff Mounds of Western Jersey County, Illinois. *American Antiquity* 1:6–46.
- 1936 A Flint Spud from Cahokia. *American Antiquity* 1:321–322.
- 1937 Flint Quarries. *Missouri Archaeologist* 3(1):3–6.
- 1938a The Cahokia Mound-Group and Its Village Site Materials. St. Louis. Privately published.
- 1938b For Identification. *American Antiquity* 3:354–355.
- 1940 Outline of Cultural Traits of the Jersey County, Illinois, Bluff Focus. *Illinois State Archaeological Society Bulletin* 3(1):15–22.
- 1943 The Jersey County, Illinois, Bluff Focus. *American Antiquity* 9:240–245.
- 1946a Four Diorite Spuds from Jersey County, Illinois. *Illinois State Archaeological Society Journal* 4(1):6–7.

- 1946b Marginella Beads: Types of Perforation for Suspension. *Illinois State Archaeological Society Journal* 4(1):7–8.
- 1947a Caches of Plumbates. *Amateur Archaeology Club of St. Louis Bulletin*, 18–20.
- 1947b Shell Gorget–Jersey County Bluff Focus. *Illinois State Archaeological Society Journal* 5(2):55.
- 1950a Some Non Pottery Sites in the St. Louis Area. *Illinois State Archaeological Society Journal* 1(1):19–30.
- 1950b Ear Spools? *American Antiquity* 16:70–71.
- 1950c Small Projectile Points. In *Cahokia Brought to Life: An Artifactual Story of America's Great Monument*, edited by Robert E. Grimm, pp. 29–30. Greater St. Louis Archaeological Society Bulletin. Greater St. Louis Archaeological Society, St. Louis.
- 1950d Filed Teeth. In *Cahokia Brought to Life: An Artifactual Story of America's Great Monument*, edited by Robert E. Grimm, pp. 31–32. Greater St. Louis Archaeological Society, St. Louis.
- Törnqvist, Torbjörn E., Tristram R. Kidder, Whitney J. Austin, Klaas van der Borg, Arie F. M. de Jong, Cornelis J. W. Klerks, Els M. A. Snijders, Joep E. A. Storms, Renke L. van Dam, and Michael C. Wieman
- 1996 A Revised Chronology for Mississippi River Subdeltas. *Science* 273:1693–1696.
- Toth, E. Allen
- 1988 *Early Marksville Phases in the Lower Mississippi Valley: A Study of Culture Contact Dynamics*. Archaeological Report No. 21. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.
- Townsend, Thomas
- 1962 Grave Creek Mound Excavation. Reprinted. *West Virginia Archeologist* [1839] 14:10–18. Originally published 1839, *Cincinnati Chronicle* 2 February.
- Trigger, Bruce G.
- 1989 *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Trinkley, Michael B.
- 1974 A Report on the Excavations at Marett Mound, Edisto Island, South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 6(1):1–24.
- 1976 Paleoethnobotanical Remains from Archaic-Woodland Transitional Shell Middens along the South Carolina Coast. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 19:64–67.
- 1980a A Typology of Thoms Creek Pottery for the South Carolina Coast. *South Carolina Antiquities* 12:1–35.
- 1980b Investigation of the Woodland Period along the South Carolina Coast.

- Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- 1983 Ceramics of the Central South Carolina Coast. *South Carolina Antiquities* 15:43–53.
- 1989 An Archaeological Overview of the South Carolina Woodland Period: It's the Same Old Riddle. In *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Papers in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson*, edited by Albert C. Goodyear III and Glen T. Hanson, pp. 73–89. Anthropological Studies 9. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Trinkley, Michael B. (editor)
- 1986 *Indian and Freedmen Occupation at the Fish Haul Site (38BU805) Beaufort, South Carolina*. Research Series 7. Chicora Foundation, Columbia, South Carolina.
- 1993 *The Archaeology and History of Kiawah Island, Charleston County, South Carolina*. Research Series 30. Chicora Foundation, Columbia, South Carolina.
- Troost, Gerard
- 1845 An Account of Some Ancient Remains in Tennessee. *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* 1:355–365.
- Turnbow, Christopher A., and Cynthia Jobe
- 1984 The Goolman Site: A Late Fort Ancient Winter Encampment in Clark County, Kentucky. In *Late Prehistoric Research in Kentucky*, edited by David Pollack, Charles Hockensmith, and Thomas Sanders, pp. 25–49. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Turnbow, Christopher A., Cynthia Jobe, Nancy O'Malley, Dee Ann Wymer, Michelle Seme, and Irwin Rovner
- 1983 *Archaeological Excavations of the Goolman, DeVary, and Stone Sites in Clark County, Kentucky*. Archaeological Report No. 78. Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Turnbow, Christopher A., and William Sharp
- 1988 *Muir: An Early Ft. Ancient Site in the Inner Bluegrass*. Archaeological Report No. 165. Program for Cultural Resource Assessment, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Turner, E. Randolph, III
- 1976 An Archeological and Ethnohistorical Study on the Evolution of Rank Societies in the Virginia Coastal Plain. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, State College.
- Turner, William B.
- 1986 Surface Artifact Assemblage Variability: A Consideration of the Natu-

- ral Factors Influencing Artifact Recovery. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Valentine, Mann S.
 1883 Report on the Excavations at the Saunooke Mound, Swain County, North Carolina, in 1882. Manuscript on file, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.
- Vogel, Joseph O., and Jean Allan
 1985 Mississippian Fortifications at Moundville. *Archaeology* 38(5):62–63.
- Waddell, Eugene
 1963 Thom's Creek Punctate. *Newsletter of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference* 9(2):3–5.
 1965a A C-14 date for Awendaw Punctate. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 3:82–85.
 1965b South Carolina Fluted Points. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 2:52–54.
- Wagner, Gail E.
 1983 Fort Ancient Subsistence: The Botanical Record. *West Virginia Archaeologist* 35(2):27–39.
 1984 Fort Ancient Plant Remains from Northern Kentucky. In *Late Prehistoric Research in Kentucky*, edited by David Pollack, Charles Hockensmith, and Thomas Sanders, pp. 50–66. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Wagner, Mark J.
 1995 The James L. and Martha Brown Site (15He683): Indicators of Ethnicity and Power Relationships at a Late Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century African-American Farmstead in Henderson County, Kentucky. In *Historical Archaeology in Kentucky*, edited by Kim McBride, W. Stephen McBride, and David Pollack, pp. 219–252. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Wainright, Robert D.
 1914 Report of Archaeological Sites in Southwestern Virginia. Letter to the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. On file, Library of Anthropology, U.S. National Museum of Natural History, Washington D.C.
- Walker, John W.
 1994 A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology. In *Ocmulgee Archaeology, 1936–1986*, edited by David J. Hally, pp. 15–35. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Walker, Karen J., and William H. Marquardt
 1993 The Discovery of Pineland's First 1,500 Years. *Newsletter of the South-*

west Florida Project, Institute of Archaeology and Paleoenvironmental Studies. Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.

Walker, S. T.

- 1880 Report on the Shell Heaps of Tampa Bay, Florida. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1879, pp. 413–422. Washington, D.C.
- 1883 The Aborigines of Florida. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1881, pp. 677–680. Washington, D.C.
- 1885 Mounds and Shell Heaps on the West Coast of Florida. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1883, pp. 854–868. Washington, D.C.

Walker, Winslow

- 1932 The Cave Cultures of Arkansas. In *Explorations and Field Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1931*, edited by the Smithsonian Institution, pp. 159–168. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Walker, Winslow M., and Robert McCormick Adams

- 1946 Excavations in the Matthews Site, New Madrid County, Missouri. *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis* 31(4):75–120.

Walling, Richard

- 1987a *Shelby-Dell Transmission Line, Shelby and Tipton Counties, Tennessee and Mississippi County, Arkansas*. Submitted to Tennessee Valley Authority. Copies available from Cultural Resources Division, Tennessee Valley Authority, Norris, Tennessee.
- 1987b *Archeological Survey of the Jackson, Tennessee, Power Service Center*. Submitted to Tennessee Valley Authority. Copies available from Cultural Resources Division, Tennessee Valley Authority, Norris, Tennessee.

Walling, Richard, and S. Chapman

- 1999 *Archaeological Data Recovery at the McNight Site (22Co560), Coahoma County, Mississippi*. Submitted to the Mississippi Department of Transportation. Panamerican Consultants, Inc., Memphis.

Walsh-Haney, Heather

- 1999 Skeletal Evidence of Health, Disease, Subsistence, and Settlement at Two Florida Archaic Sites: Bay West (8CR200) and Windover (8BR246). Unpublished master's thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Walthall, John A.

- 1973 Copena: A Tennessee Valley Middle Woodland Culture. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- 1979 Hopewell and the Southern Heartland. In *Hopewell Archaeology: The Chillecothe Conference*, edited by D. S. Brose and N. Greber, pp. 200–208. Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio.
- 1980 *Prehistoric Indians of the Southeast: Archaeology of Alabama and the Middle South*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

- 1985 Early Hopewellian Ceremonial Encampments in the South Appalachian Highlands. In *Method and Process in Southeastern Archaeology*, edited by R. S. Dickens and H. T. Ward, pp. 243–262. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 1998 Rockshelters and Hunter-Gatherer Adaptation to the Pleistocene/Holocene Transition. *American Antiquity* 63:223–238.
- Walthall, John A., and David L. DeJarnette
- 1974 Copena Burial Caves. *Journal of Alabama Archaeology* 20:1–59.
- Walthall, John A., and Thomas Emerson
- 1982 *Calumet and Fleur d’Lys*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Walthall, John A., Stephen H. Stow, and Marvin J. Karson
- 1980 Copena Galena: Source Identification and Analysis. *American Antiquity* 45:21–42.
- Ward, Henry T., and R. P. Stephen Davis
- 1993 *Indian Communities of the North Carolina Piedmont: 1000–1700*. Monograph 2. Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- 1999 *Time before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Wardle, H. Newell
- 1906 The Treasures of Prehistoric Moundville. *Harpers Monthly Magazine* 112:200–210.
- Waring, Antonio J., Jr.
- 1961 Fluted Points on the South Carolina Coast. *American Antiquity* 26: 550–552.
- 1968a The Southern Cult and Muskhogean Ceremonial. In *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.*, edited by Stephen Williams, pp. 30–69. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 58. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- 1968b The Southern Cult Revisited. In *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.*, edited by Stephen Williams, p. 93. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 58. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- 1968c Summary of the 1954 Moundville Meeting. In *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.*, edited by Stephen Williams, pp. 90–92. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 58. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- 1968d A History of Georgia Archaeology. In *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.*, edited by Stephen Williams, pp.

- 288–299. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 58. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- 1968e The Cultural Sequence at the Mouth of the Savannah River. In *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.*, edited by Stephen Williams, pp. 216–221. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 58. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- 1968f The Refuge Site: Jasper County, South Carolina. In *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.*, edited by Stephen Williams, pp. 198–208. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 58. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Waring, A. J., Jr. and Preston Holder
- 1945 A Prehistoric Ceremonial Complex in the Southeastern United States. *American Anthropologist* 47:1–34.
- Waring, Antonio J., Jr., and Lewis H. Larson Jr.
- 1968 The Shell Ring on Sapelo Island. In *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.*, edited by Stephen Williams, pp. 263–278. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 58. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Waselkov, Gregory A.
- 1984 *Fort Toulouse Studies*. Archaeological Monograph 9. Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama.
- 1989a Introduction: Recent Archaeological and Historical Research. In *Fort Toulouse: The French Outpost at the Alabamas on the Coosa*, by Daniel H. Thomas, pp. vii–xlii. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 1989b Seventeenth-Century Trade in the Colonial Southeast. *Southeastern Archaeology* 8(2):117–133.
- 1991 *Archaeology at the French Colonial Site of Old Mobile (Phase I: 1989–1991)*. Anthropological Monograph 1. University of South Alabama, Mobile.
- 1992 French Colonial Trade in the Upper Creek Country. In *Calumet and Fleur-de-Lys: Archaeology of Indian and French Contact in the Midcontinent*, edited by John A. Walthall and Thomas E. Emerson, pp. 35–53. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- 1993 Historic Creek Indian Responses to European Trade and the Rise of Political Factions. In *Ethnohistory and Archaeology: Approaches to Post-contact Change in the Americas*, edited by J. Daniel Rogers and Samuel M. Wilson, pp. 123–131. Plenum, New York.
- 1994 A History of the Alabama Anthropological Society. *Southeastern Archaeology* 13(1):64–76.
- 1998 The Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Trade in Southeastern North America. In *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh*

- North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995*, edited by Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and William Wicken, pp. 193–222. Michigan State University Press, East Lansing.
- 1999 *Old Mobile Archaeology*. Archaeology Booklet 1. University of South Alabama, Mobile.
- Waselkov, Gregory A. (editor)
- 1998 *Gulf Coast History and Historical Archaeology*. *Gulf South Historical Review* 14(1):1–188.
- Waselkov, Gregory A., John W. Cottier, and Craig T. Sheldon Jr.
- 1990 Archaeological Excavations at the Early Historic Creek Indian Town of Fusihatchee (Phase 1, 1988–1989). Submitted to the National Science Foundation, Grant BNS-8718934.
- Waselkov, Gregory A., and Craig T. Sheldon Jr.
- 1987 Cataloguing and Documenting the Historic Creek Archaeological Collections of the Alabama Department of Archives and History. Report to the National Science Foundation, Grant BNS-8507469.
- Waselkov, Gregory A., and Marvin T. Smith
- 2000 Upper Creek Archaeology. In *Indians of the Greater Southeast during the Historic Period*, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Waselkov, Gregory A., Brian M. Wood, and Joseph M. Herbert
- 1982 *Colonization and Conquest: The 1980 Archaeological Excavations at Fort Toulouse and Fort Jackson, Alabama*. Archaeological Monograph 4. Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama.
- Washburn, Wilcomb E. (editor)
- 1988 *History of Indian-White Relations*. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 4, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Watson, Patty Jo
- 1969 *The Prehistory of Salts Cave, Kentucky*. Reports of Investigations No. 16. Illinois State Museum, Springfield.
- 1985 The Impact of Early Horticulture in the Upland Drainages of the Midwest and Midsouth. In *Prehistoric Food Production in North America*, edited by Richard Ford, pp. 99–147. Anthropological Papers No. 75. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- 1989 Early Plant Cultivation in the Eastern Woodlands of North America. In *Foraging and Farming: The Evolution of Plant Exploitation* edited by David Harris and G. C. Hillman, pp. 555–571. Unwin Hyman, London.
- 1996 Of Caves and Shell Mounds in West-Central Kentucky. In *Of Caves and Shell Mounds*, edited by Kenneth C. Carstens and Patty Jo Watson, pp. 159–164. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

- Watson, Patty Jo (editor)
 1974 *Archaeology of the Mammoth Cave Area*. Academic Press, New York.
- Watson, Patty Jo, Steven A. LeBlanc, and Charles L. Redman
 1971 *Archaeological Explanation: The Scientific Method in Archaeology*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Watson, Richard
 1990 Ozymandias, King of Kings: Postprocessual Radical Archaeology as Critique. *American Antiquity* 55:673–689.
- Wauchope, Robert C.
 1939 Fluted Points from South Carolina. *American Antiquity* 4:344–346.
 1947 Notes on Little Pecan Island. *American Antiquity* 11(pt. 1).
 1948 The Ceramic Sequence in the Etowah Drainage, Northwest Georgia. *American Antiquity* 13(3):201–209.
 1966 *Archaeological Survey of Northern Georgia: With a Test of Some Cultural Hypotheses*. Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology No. 21. Society for American Archaeology, Salt Lake City.
- Weaver, Guy G., Jeffrey L. Holland, Patrick H. Garrow, and Martin B. Reinbold
 1993 *The Gowen Farmstead: Archaeological Data Recovery at Site 40DV401 (Area D), Davidson County, Tennessee*. Garrow and Associates, Inc. Submitted to the Metropolitan Nashville Airport Authority and Tennessee Division of Archaeology, Nashville. Copies available from the Tennessee Division of Archaeology, Nashville.
- Weaver, Guy G., and Charles H. McNutt
 1977 *An Archeological Survey of the Proposed Piney Campground Expansion, Land between the Lakes, Stewart County, Tennessee: November, 1977*. Submitted to Tennessee Valley Authority. Copies available from Cultural Resources Division, Tennessee Valley Authority, Norris, Tennessee.
 1979a *Report of a Survey for Prehistoric, Architectural, and Historic Resources along the Proposed Franklin-Hartsville Transmission Line*. Submitted to Tennessee Valley Authority. Copies available from Cultural Resources Division, Tennessee Valley Authority, Norris, Tennessee.
 1979b *Report of Archeological Excavations at the Denney Site, 40SM69*. Submitted to Tennessee Valley Authority. Copies available from Cultural Resources Division, Tennessee Valley Authority, Norris, Tennessee.
- Webb, William S.
 1938 *An Archaeological Survey of the Norris Basin in Eastern Tennessee*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 118. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
 1939 *An Archaeological Survey of Wheeler Basin on the Tennessee River in Northern Alabama*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 122. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

- 1952 *The Jonathan Creek Village*. Reports in Anthropology and Archaeology 7. University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Webb, William S., and Raymond S. Baby
- 1957 *The Adena People No. 2*. Ohio Historical Society, Ohio State University Press, Columbus.
- Webb, William S., and David L. DeJarnette
- 1942 *An Archaeological Survey of Pickwick Basin in the Adjacent Portions of the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 129. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Webb, William S., and William D. Funkhouser
- 1929 *The Williams Site in Christian County, Kentucky*. Reports in Archaeology and Anthropology No. 1(1). University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- 1930 *The Page Site in Logan County, Kentucky*. Reports in Archaeology and Anthropology No. 1(3). University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- 1931 *The Tolu Site in Crittenden County, Kentucky*. Reports in Archaeology and Anthropology No. 1(5). University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- 1932 *Archaeological Survey of Kentucky*. Reports in Archaeology and Anthropology No. 2. Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- 1933 *The McCleod Bluff Site*. Reports in Archaeology and Anthropology No. 3(1). University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Webb, William S., and Charles E. Snow
- 1945 *The Adena People*. Reports in Anthropology and Archaeology No. 6. University of Kentucky, Lexington.
- Webb, William S., and Charles G. Wilder
- 1951 *An Archaeological Survey of the Gunter'sville Basin on the Tennessee River in Northern Alabama*. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington.
- Wedel, Waldo R.
- 1951 Archaeological Reconnaissance near Saltville, Virginia, in 1940. *Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* (5)4. Reprinted 1990, *Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* (45)3:114-122.
- Weinstein, Richard A.
- 1974 An Archaeological Survey of the Lower Amite River, Louisiana. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Weinstein, Richard A., Richard S. Fuller, Susan L. Scott, C. Margaret Scarry, and Sylvia Timmons Duay
- 1995 *The Rock Levee Site: Late Marksville through Late Mississippi Period Settlement, Bolivar County, Mississippi*. Submitted to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Vicksburg District.

- Weinstein, Richard A., Wayne P. Glander, Sherwood Gagliano, Eileen K. Burded, and Kathleen McCloskey
- 1979 *Cultural Resources Survey in the Upper Steel Bayou Basin, West-Central Mississippi*, vol. 1. Submitted to U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Vicksburg District.
- Weinstein, Richard A., and David B. Kelly
- 1992 *Cultural Resources Investigations in the Terrebonne Marsh, South Central Louisiana*. Cultural Resources Series Report No. COELMN/PD-89/06. Copies available from Coastal Environments, Inc., Baton Rouge.
- Weisman, Brent R.
- 1989 *Like Beads on a String: A Culture History of the Seminole Indians in North Peninsular Florida*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 1992 *Excavations of the Franciscan Frontier, Archaeology of the Fig Springs Mission*. University Press of Florida, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.
- 1999 *Unconquered People: Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Indians*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Weiss, Mary Shannon
- 1998 Alabama Mound Exploration by the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology, 1882–1886. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Welch, Paul D.
- 1991 *Moundville's Economy*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 1998 Outlying Sites within the Moundville Chiefdom. In *Archaeology of the Moundville Chiefdom*, edited by V. J. Knight Jr., and V. P. Steponaitis, pp. 133–166. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Wesler, Kit
- 1985 *Archaeological Investigations at Wickliffe Mounds, 15Ba4: Mound A, 1984*. Report No. 1. Wickliffe Mounds Research Center, Wickliffe, Kentucky.
- 1989 *Archaeological Investigations at Wickliffe Mounds, 15Ba4: Mound D, 1987*. Report No. 3. Wickliffe Mounds Research Center, Wickliffe, Kentucky.
- 1991 *Archaeological Investigations at Wickliffe Mounds, 15Ba4: North Village and Cemetery, 1988–1989*. Report No. 4. Wickliffe Mounds Research Center, Wickliffe, Kentucky.
- 1996 A New Look at the Mississippian Landscape at Wickliffe Mounds. In *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky*, vol. 4, edited by Sara L. Sanders, Tom Sanders, and Charles Stout, pp. 280–296. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.

Wesson, Cameron B.

- 1998 *Households and Hegemony: An Analysis of Historic Creek Culture Change*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. University Microfilms International 9737286.

Wetmore, Ruth Y.

- 1986 The Nipper Creek Site (38RD18): A Study in Archaic Stage Change. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Wetmore, Ruth Y., and Albert C. Goodyear III

- 1986 *Archaeological Investigations at Nipper Creek (38RD18): An Archaic Fall Line Site*. Research Manuscript Series 201. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Wheaton, Thomas R., Amy Friedlander, and Patrick H. Garrow

- 1983 *Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in Afro-American Archaeology*. Soil Systems Inc., Marietta, Georgia.

White, Hayden V.

- 1974 The Historical Text as Literary Artifact. *Clio* 3(3):81-101.
1978a The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish. Reprinted. In *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, by Hayden V. White, pp. 183-197. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore. Originally published 1976, *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, vol. 1, edited by F. Chiapelli, pp. 121-135. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
1978b Introduction: Tropology, Discourse and the Modes of Human Consciousness. In *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, by Hayden V. White, pp. 1-27. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

White, Nancy Marie

- 1999 Hester A. Davis: A Legend in Public Archaeology. In *Grit-Tempered: Early Women Archaeologists in the Southeastern United States*, edited by Nancy Marie White, Lynne P. Sullivan, and Rochelle A. Marrinan, pp. 206-229. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

White, Nancy Marie, Lynne P. Sullivan, and Rochelle A. Marrinan (editors)

- 1999 *Grit Tempered: Early Women Archaeologists in the Southeastern United States*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Whitthoft, John

- 1969 Comments, Session 1. *Proceedings of the 25th Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin No. 9*, pp. 3-15.

Wilkie, Laurie

- 1995 Magic and Empowerment on the Plantation: Archaeological Consid-

- erations of African-American World View. *Southeastern Archaeology* 14(2):136–148.
- Wilkins, Gary R.
 1977 Salvage Excavations of the Gore Mound (46-Bo-26). *West Virginia Archeologist* 26:4–29.
- Willey, Gordon R.
 1936 Report on Fort Hawkins Excavations. Manuscript on file, Southeast Archaeological Research Center, Macon, Georgia.
 1941 Review of *The Wright Mounds*, by William S. Webb. *American Antiquity* 43:651–653.
 1949a *Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 113. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
 1949b *Excavations in Southeast Florida*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 42. Yale University Press, New Haven.
 1969 James Alfred Ford, 1911–1968. *American Antiquity* 34(1):62–71.
 1988 *Portraits in American Archaeology: Remembrances of Some Distinguished Americanists*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Willey, Gordon R., and Philip Phillips
 1958 *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Willey, Gordon R., and Jeremy A. Sabloff
 1974 *A History of American Archaeology*. Thames and Hudson, London.
 1980 *A History of American Archaeology*. 2nd ed. W. H. Freeman, San Francisco.
- Williams, Stephen
 1949 An Archaeological Study of the Sandy Woods Site, Scott County, Missouri. Unpublished honor's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Yale University.
 1954a *An Archaeological Study of the Mississippian Culture in Southeast Missouri*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Yale University. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
 1954b The Moundville Horizon in Northeast Arkansas. Paper presented at the 1954 Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Moundville Alabama.
 1957a The Island 35 Mastodon: Its Bearing on the Age of Archaic Cultures in the East. *American Antiquity* 24(4):359–372.
 1957b Settlement Patterns in the Lower Mississippi Valley. In *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the New World*, edited by Gordon R. Willey, pp. 52–62. Publications in Anthropology 23. Wenner-Gren Foundation, New York.

- 1967 On the Location of Historic Taesa Villages. *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 1:2–13. Raleigh.
 - 1976 Reflections from the Lower Valley. *Mid-Continental Journal of Archaeology* 1(1):101–103.
 - 1978 Foreword. In *Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma*, vol. 1, by Philip Phillips and James A. Brown. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
 - 1980 Armorel: A Very Late Phase in the Lower Mississippi Valley. *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 22:105–110.
 - 1990 The Vacant Quarter and Other Late Events in the Lower Valley. In *Towns and Temples along the Mississippi*, edited by David Dye and Cheryl Cox, pp. 170–180. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
 - 1991a *Fantastic Archaeology: The Wild Side of North American Archaeology*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
 - 1991b Poverty Point North and Some Thoughts on Origins. *Geoscience and Man* 29:95–101.
 - 1992 Obion Site Report: Final Statement. In *The Obion Site: An Early Mississippian Center in Western Tennessee*, by Elizabeth Baldwin Garland, pp. 193–201. Report of Investigation 7. Cobb Institute, Mississippi State University, Starkville.
- Williams, Stephen (editor)
- 1968 *The Waring Papers: The Collected Works of Antonio J. Waring, Jr.* Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology Vol. 58. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Williams, Stephen, and Jeffrey P. Brain
- 1983 *Excavations at the Lake George Site, Yazoo County, Mississippi, 1958–1960*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 74. Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Williams, Talcott
- 1895 The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony. *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895*, pp. 47–61. Washington, D.C.
- Wilson, Kristin J.
- 1997 Bioarchaeological Investigation of Late Archaic Stallings Culture: A Summary. *South Carolina Antiquities* 29:1–16.
- Wilson, Lanford
- 1972 *The Mound Builders*. Mermaid Dramabook. Hill and Wang, New York.
- Wingfield, Derek M., Michael D. Richmond, and Henry S. McKelway
- 1997 Archaeological Remains of a Mid-Nineteenth Century Brick Clamp: A First Look at Brick Clamps in Kentucky. *Ohio Valley Historical Archaeology* 12:68–88.

- Wogaman, Ronald W., John H. House, and Albert C. Goodyear
 1976 *An Archeological Reconnaissance of the Four Proposed Twelfth Street Extension Routes, Lexington County, South Carolina*. Research Manuscript Series 106. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Wood, Peter, Gregory Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley (editors)
 1989 *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Wood, W. Raymond
 1962 Breckenridge Shelter—3CR2: An Archeological Chronicle in the Beaver Reservoir Area. In *Arkansas Archeology 1962*, edited by C. R. McGimsey III, pp. 67–96. Arkansas Archeological Society, Fayetteville.
 1981 The Poole Site. *Arkansas Archeologist* 22:7–64.
- Woodall, J. Ned
 1969 *Archaeological Excavations in the Toledo Bend Reservoir, 1966*. Contributions in Anthropology No. 3. Southern Methodist University, Dallas.
 1976 Second Archaeological Survey of the Great Bend Area, Yadkin River Valley, North Carolina. Manuscript on file, Archaeological Laboratories, Museum of Man, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
 1990 *Archaeological Investigations in the Yadkin River Valley, 1984–1987*. Publication 24. North Carolina Archaeological Council, Raleigh.
- Woodiel, Deborah Kay
 1980 The St. Gabriel Site: Prehistoric Life on the Mississippi. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Worth, John E.
 1998a *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida: 1. Assimilation*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
 1998b *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida: 2. Resistance and Destruction*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Wyckoff, Don G.
 1969 Comments, Session 2. *Proceedings of the 25th Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin No. 9*, pp. 17–21.
 1980 Caddoan Adaptive Strategies in the Arkansas Basin, Eastern Oklahoma. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington State University, Pullman.
- Wyman, Jeffries
 1867 Florida Shell Mounds. *Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History* 11:158–159.

- 1868 An Account of the Fresh-water Shell Heaps of the St. Johns River, East Florida. *American Naturalist* 2:393–403, 440–463.
 - 1875 *Fresh-water Shell Mounds of the St. Johns River, Florida*. Memoir 4. Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Massachusetts.
- Wymer, Dee Anne
- 1992 Trends and Disparities: The Woodland Paleoethnobotanical Record of the Mid-Ohio Valley. In *Cultural Variability in Context: Woodland Settlements of the Mid-Ohio Valley*, edited by Mark F. Seeman, pp. 65–69. MCJA Special Publication No. 7. Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio.
- Yakubik, Jill-Karen
- 1990 Ceramic Use in Late Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century Southeastern Louisiana. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans.
- Yarnell, Richard A.
- 1978 Domestication of Sunflower and Sumpweed in Eastern North America. In *The Nature and Status of Ethnobotany*, edited by Richard I. Ford, pp. 289–300. Anthropological Papers No. 67. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Young, Amy Lambeck, Susan C. Andrews, and Philip J. Carr
- 1995 Ceramics and Slave Lifeways at Locust Grove Plantation. In *Historical Archaeology in Kentucky*, edited by Kim McBride, W. Stephen McBride, and David Pollack, pp. 253–264. Kentucky Heritage Council, Frankfort.
- Young, Biloine W., and Melvin L. Fowler
- 2000 *Cahokia: The Great Native American Metropolis*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Youse, Hillis J.
- 1969 Excavation of the Young Mound and Identification of Other Mounds in Dunbar, West Virginia. *West Virginia Archeologist* 22:4–29.
 - 1976 The Edgewood Rock Shelter, 46-Ka-16. *West Virginia Archeologist* 27:28–46.
- Zierden, Martha
- 1993a The Urban Landscape in South Carolina. In *Historic Landscapes in South Carolina: Historical Archaeological Perspectives on the Land and Its People*, edited by Linda F. Stine, Leslie M. Ducker, Martha Zierden, and Christopher Judge, pp. 135–146. Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists, Columbia.
 - 1993b Twenty-Five Years of Historical Archaeology in South Carolina. *South Carolina Antiquities* 25:49–51.
- Zierden, Martha, and Jeanne A. Calhoun
- 1984 *An Archaeological Preservation Plan for Charleston, South Carolina*. Ar-

- chaeological Contributions 8. Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.
- 1986 Urban Adaptation in Charleston, South Carolina. *Historical Archaeology* 20(1):29–43.
- 1990 An Archaeological Interpretation of Elite Townhouse Sites in Charleston, South Carolina, 1770–1850. *Southeastern Archaeology* 9(2):79–92.
- Zierden, Martha, and Bernard L. Herman (editors)
- 1999 Charleston in the Context of Trans-Atlantic Culture. *Historical Archaeology* 33(3):1–107.

Acknowledgments

We express our deep thanks to David Saucier for providing his father's paper for the symposium and his manuscript for this volume. Roger Saucier completed his symposium paper, and his chapter for this book was near completion upon his untimely death. Because the symposium paper and the chapter were nearly identical, we supplemented his chapter manuscript with the final paragraphs of his presentation. We believe the result is close to what Dr. Saucier intended. T. R. Kidder supplied supplemental references for the chapter. We also thank Stephen Williams for graciously agreeing to read Dr. Saucier's paper at the meeting.

We thank William Haag, George Quimby, Ann F. Ramenofsky, William V. Davidson, and the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Louisiana for allowing us to include excerpts from "Bringing the Past Alive." William Haag, Michael J. O'Brien, Kent Flannery, and Charles H. McNutt supplied details and background information that aided in the transcription of the Haag-Quimby interview.

Thanks also to David Dye, Ellen Shlasko, Marcia Taylor, the Dean's Office at the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Memphis, and the students of the Anthropology Department for helping to make the "Histories of Southeastern Archaeology" symposium a success.

We are grateful to Michael D. Wiant of the Illinois State Museum, who supplied the pictures of Kincaid for this volume and tracked down identifications for us.

Judith Knight at the University of Alabama Press encouraged us from the beginning in the organization and publication of the symposium. Her advice and guidance have been invaluable. Thanks also to the anonymous reviewers for the first draft of this volume and to Kathy Swain, who worked with us and our peculiarities. Most of all, however, we thank the "Histories" authors for participating in the SEAC symposium and this book.

Contributors

David G. Anderson is an archaeologist at the Southeast Archeological Center of the National Park Service in Tallahassee, Florida. His technical interests include Paleo-Indian colonization and culture change, cultural resource management, models of prehistoric population distributions, synthesis of archaeological research on locality to regional scales, and exploration of the evolution of cultural complexity in eastern North America. The author of numerous (more than two hundred) papers and monographs on prehistoric and historic archaeology in various parts of North America and the Caribbean, in 1990 he received the Southeastern Archaeological Conference's first C. B. Moore award for excellence by a young scholar and the Society for American Archaeology's dissertation prize for his work on organizational cycling in Mississippian chiefdoms in 1991. He also received the SAA's Presidential Recognition Award in 1997 and the Excellence in Cultural Resource Management Award for Research in 1999. Major recent publications include *The Savannah River Chiefdoms: Political Change in the Late Prehistoric Southeast* (1994), *The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast* (1996), and *The Archaeology of the Mid-Holocene Southeast* (1996). The latter two were edited volumes prepared with Kenneth E. Sassaman and are part of a long-range effort to produce syntheses of Southeastern prehistoric archaeology. He has several additional volumes on Southeastern archaeology currently under review or in preparation.

David S. Brose earned his Ph.D. at the University of Michigan. He has served as Chief Curator and Research Coordinator at the Cleveland Museum of Natural History; Vice President and Associate Director at the Royal Ontario Museum; and is currently Director and President of the Schiele Museum of Natural History and Planetarium in North Carolina. Brose has also taught at

Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland State University, the University of Toronto, and the University of North Carolina-Charlotte and from 1976 through 1997 was Editor of the *Mid-Continental Journal of Archaeology*.

Concerned with presenting American archaeology in its social and technical contexts, Brose has written and edited more than one hundred books, articles, chapters, and encyclopedia entries. Among these are analyses of Neanderthal and *H. sapiens* tools and teeth, monographs on the material culture and early industries of nineteenth-century America, studies of Hopewellian interactions across the Eastern Woodlands, and several reports on Paleo-Indian occupation of the Appalachian plateau, French contact sites in the Great Lakes, and early prehistoric Mississippian societies in Florida. With regard to recent publications, Brose is author and coeditor of *The Northwest Florida Expeditions of C. B. Moore* (1999) and *Societies in Eclipse* (2001), a volume on the latest prehistoric tribes of America's heartland.

James A. Brown received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1965. He is current Professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University. Although his recent work has emphasized iconography of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, he has been involved in excavation and laboratory supervision of material from Spiro, Mound City (Ohio), and Koster.

Wide-ranging topical interests include ecology, mortuary studies, political economy, and, currently, iconographic analysis. Brown is currently working with John Kelly on material from Mound 34 at Cahokia to document the thirteenth-century context and origin of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex.

Bettye J. Broyles graduated from the University of Chattanooga in 1955, where she became involved with the Tennessee Archaeological Society and honed her excavation, survey, mapping, and illustration skills. She worked as an archaeologist for thirty years in various southeastern states, was one of the first people to look at pottery from Russell Cave in northeastern Alabama, and perfected a technique of copying Swift Creek Complicated Stamp pottery designs. Broyles came to West Virginia in 1963 as an archaeologist, where she recorded countless sites and collections and became head of the Section of Archaeology in 1970. She worked for four seasons at the St. Albans site, the results of which contributed greatly to the understanding of the culture history of West Virginia. In 1995 Bettye Broyles received SEAC's Distinguished Service Award. Since 1986 Broyles has served as County Historian for Rhea County, Tennessee, and is president of the Rhea County Historical Society.

R. Berle Clay is a Principal Investigator at Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc. in Lexington, Kentucky. He has forty years of experience in teaching, research,

and management, principally in the Ohio Valley. He currently specializes in geophysical survey of archaeological sites of all types and time periods. He may be reached at rbclay@CRAI-KY.com.

Hester A. Davis has recently retired from the position of State Archeologist in Arkansas, which she held for thirty-two years. She is also Professor Emerita of Anthropology at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. She is now working on manuscripts for two books, something she agreed to do in what were weakened moments.

Kathleen Deagan is currently Distinguished Research Curator of Historical Archaeology at the Florida Museum of Natural History, University of Florida, and Adjunct Professor of Anthropology and History at the University of Florida, studying gender roles in Spanish-Indian cultural exchange and interaction in colonial Florida. Her field research has continued in St. Augustine since that time and in the Spanish sites of Hispaniola since 1979.

Charles H. Faulkner received a doctorate in anthropology from Indiana University in 1970 and has been on the faculty at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville for the past thirty-six years. Earlier in his archaeological career in the Department of Anthropology, Dr. Faulkner was engaged in contract archaeology as well as in teaching full time, most notably as a coprincipal investigator of the Normandy Archaeological Project and numerous Tennessee Department of Transportation projects. For his research and academic contributions to the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, Dr. Faulkner was named a Chancellor's Research Scholar in 1983 and a Distinguished Professor of Humanities in the College of Arts and Sciences in 1998. Recently, Dr. Faulkner's research has been in historical archaeology and the study of rock art and other prehistoric activity in the dark zone of caves.

William Haag (1910–2000) received his M.S. in geology in 1933 from the University of Kentucky and his Ph.D in ethnozoology from the University of Michigan in 1948. After obtaining his master's degree, he served as Field Archaeologist for the Tennessee Valley Authority and the University of Kentucky. He moved to the University of Mississippi in 1950 and to Louisiana State University in 1952, where he remained until his retirement as Alumni Professor in 1978. His experience includes work in Louisiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia, as well as the Antilles and Meso-America. His undergraduate classes at LSU attracted many students into the field; his associations with colleagues can be described only as delightful. Most, if not all, of the contributors to this volume knew Bill Haag and count themselves better for it.

Jane Hill received a B.A. in journalism from the University of Mississippi in 1987. After working as a photographer, reporter, and editor for several newspapers in the Southeast, she returned to school to study at the University of Memphis in 1996, where she earned an M.A. in anthropology in 1998 and an M.A. in Art History/Egyptology in 2001. Currently, Hill is studying for her Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania.

Jay K. Johnson is a Professor of Anthropology and the Associate Director of the Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Mississippi. He received his Ph.D. from Southern Illinois University in Carbondale and has been working in Southeastern archaeology since he was an undergraduate at Florida State University in the late 1960s. A long-time interest in lithic analysis led to the coediting of *The Organization of Core Technology* (1987), a collection of articles on stone tools. He received the 1996 Award for Excellence in Lithic Studies from the Society for American Archaeology. He recently brought together a group of specialists who wrote chapters for *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology* (1993) in which each chronicled changes in the way archaeology has been carried out in their subdiscipline since the nineteenth century. Other research interests include remote sensing, geographic information systems (GIS) analysis, and ethnohistory.

Bennie C. Keel received his Ph.D. from Washington State University in 1972. He is Regional Archeologist, Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, Tallahassee, Florida. Dr. Keel was Senior Archaeologist at the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, from 1963 to 1973 and Associate Professor of Anthropology at Wright State University from 1973 to 1976. He joined the National Park Service in 1976, where he has also served as Chief of Interagency Archeological Services, Departmental Consulting Archeologist, and Assistant Director. His interests include both prehistoric and historic archaeology of the Southeast.

Vernon J. Knight Jr. is Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Alabama. He earned his Ph.D. at the University of Florida in 1981 and was appointed to the faculty at the University of Alabama in 1988. He is currently involved in field research at the site of Moundville. His publications include *Archaeology of the Moundville Chiefdom* (1998, edited with V. P. Steponaitis), *The Moundville Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore* (1996, editor), *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543* (1993, edited with L. A. Clayton and E. C. Moore), and *Cemochechobee: Archaeology of a Mississippian Ceremonial Center on the Chattahoochee River* (1981, with F. T. Schnell and G. S. Schnell).

Lewis Larson was born in Minnesota in 1927. He received an A.B. in anthropology from the University of Minnesota in 1949. He received an M.A. in 1952 and a Ph.D. in 1967 in anthropology from the University of Michigan. He has taught at the University of Arkansas, the Georgia Institute of Technology, Georgia State University, and the State University of West Georgia. He was archaeologist for the Georgia Historical Commission and served as Georgia State Archaeologist.

Retired archaeologist **Howard A. MacCord Sr.** is a native of Washington, D.C., a graduate of the University of Maryland, a colonel retired after twenty years of active duty with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and a lifelong devotee of the archaeology of the middle Atlantic region. After thirty years as an avocational collector-archaeologist-student, he turned professional in 1963 after retiring from the army. He had previously worked in Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Japan, and Korea. He inaugurated archaeological work in Virginia's government and also did some contract archaeology. He worked extensively with the Archeological Society of Virginia and has more than 130 titles in print in various outlets, totaling about three thousand pages. Although retired, he maintains an active interest in Virginia's archaeology and continues to write for publication. He lives in Richmond, Virginia, with his wife, and he has three adult children.

Charles H. McNutt received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. He is currently Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of Memphis, where he was on the faculty from 1964 through 1998. His publications include monographs and research reports on the American Southwest, north Plains, and Southeast. For the past three decades his research has focused on the prehistory of the middle Cumberland River and the Central Mississippi Valley and the application of quantitative methods to archaeological analysis. While at the University he received three Outstanding Research Awards and a Distinguished Teaching Award. His current interests include working with graduate students, compiling information on a site in northeast Arkansas, and tapping the inexhaustible reservoir of cultural resource management funds through a company he has formed with his son.

Jerald T. Milanich, Curator in Archaeology at the Florida Museum of Natural History, received his Ph.D. from the University of Florida in 1971, specializing in the archaeology and ethnohistory of the American Indians of the southeastern United States. During 1971 and 1972, he was a postdoctoral fellow at the Smithsonian Institution, where he continued his studies. He returned to the University of Florida as a faculty member in 1972, moving to the mu-

seum in 1975. His publications include *The Alachua Tradition of North-Central Florida* (1971); *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography* (1972, with William C. Sturtevant); *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia during the Historic Period* (1978, edited with Samuel Proctor); *Florida Archaeology* (1980, with Charles H. Fairbanks); *McKeithen Weeden Island: The Culture of Northern Florida, A.D. 200–900* (1984, with several coauthors); *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492–1570* (1989, edited with Susan Milbrath); *Hernando de Soto and the Florida Indians* (1993, with Charles Hudson); *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida* (1994), *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (1995), *The Timucua* (1996), *Florida's Indians: From Ancient Times to the Present* (1998); and *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians* (1999).

Jon Muller is Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. He is the author of *Archaeology of the Lower Ohio River Valley* (1986) and *Mississippian Political Economy* (1997). The latter book won the 1999 Society for American Archaeology Book Award. His current projects include web publication of ethnohistorical sources of the Southeast and work on the political economy of the discipline of American archaeology. He can be reached through <http://www.siu.edu/~anthro/muller/index.html>.

Robert W. Neuman received his M.A. in anthropology from Louisiana State University in 1956. His early archaeological work was throughout the northern and central Plains, as well as Alabama and Georgia, primarily with the River Basin Surveys of the Smithsonian Institution. In 1967 he returned to Louisiana State University, where he remained until retirement in 1994. During this time, he worked in Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, and El Salvador. He continued his interest in adaptations to plains environments with fieldwork in the Peoples Republic of China, Inner Mongolia, and Argentina. Neuman has a secondary, but very real, interest in the history of archaeology. His publications can be found in all major anthropological journals and many university presses.

George Quimby received his master's degree in anthropology from the University of Michigan in 1937. In the mid-1940s, after work in Michigan, Hudson's Bay, and the Southeast, Quimby went to the Field Museum of Natural History. While at the Field Museum, Quimby maintained his interest in the Great Lakes area but also carried out fieldwork in the Southeast and Southwest. In 1965, Quimby left Chicago for the University of Washington; in 1968 he became Director of the Burke Museum at the university. The move to Washing-

ton allowed Quimby to concentrate his interests on the northwest coast, where he did work on ethnohistory, archaeology, and cinematography.

Ann F. Ramenofsky is an Associate Professor of Archaeology in the Department of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico. Her primary research interests are archaeological method and initial European-Native interactions across the Spanish borderlands. She has published two books, *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact* (1997) and *Unit Issues in Archaeology: Measuring Time, Space, and Material* (1987). Most recently, Dr. Ramenofsky has begun investigating the nature and extent of Spanish mining during the earliest century of Spanish colonization and settlement of New Mexico.

Kenneth E. Sassaman is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Florida. He is author of *Early Pottery in the Southeast* (1993), coeditor with D. G. Anderson of *The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast* (1996) and *Archaeology of the Mid-Holocene Southeast* (1996), and coeditor with M. S. Nassaney of *Native American Interactions* (1995). He was the 1994 recipient of the C. B. Moore Award for Excellence in Archaeology by a Young Scholar in Southeastern Studies. His research interests include the Archaic Southeast, hunter-gatherer diversity, technological change, and social theory.

Roger T. Saucier's professional career of nearly forty years in applied research and consulting has focused on understanding the origin, evolution, geomorphic processes, landforms, deposits, and natural landscapes of the Lower Mississippi Valley. He has applied that knowledge to such diverse issues and fields as foundation engineering, water resources development, waste management, seismic risk assessment, boundary litigation, archaeological surveys, and cultural resources management.

He obtained a broadly interdisciplinary education at Louisiana State University, where he received B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees in geography and anthropology. Between 1961 and 1974, he was employed as a research geographer with the Geotechnical Laboratory of the U.S. Army Engineer Waterways Experiment Station in Vicksburg, Mississippi, where he accomplished extensive geologic mapping, site investigations, and geomorphological and geoarchaeological studies for engineering projects. From 1975 to 1994, he was a research program manager in the Environmental Laboratory of the same organization, where he directed studies of environmental impact methodologies and resources protection and management strategies. Since retirement in 1994 he has remained in Vicksburg and has been active in geomorphological consulting and lecturing in the Mississippi Valley area.

Many of Dr. Saucier's more than one hundred publications deal with aspects

of the Quaternary geologic history and processes of both the Mississippi alluvial valley and deltaic plain. He has written three major syntheses of Mississippi Valley landforms, processes, and chronology and has received prestigious awards and recognition from national organizations in the fields of archaeology, geology, and engineering.

Stanley South has been a historical archaeologist since he left Native American archaeology in 1958 to begin excavation at Brunswick Town State Historic Site, which stimulated him to begin The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology in 1960. Some of his work there was reported in his book, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (1977). Other books include *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology* (1977); *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology: Breaking New Ground* (1994); *Historical Archaeology in Wachovia: Excavating Eighteenth-Century Bethabara and Moravian Pottery* (1999); and *Archaeological Pathways to Historic Site Development*, to appear in 2001. He is the recipient of the J. C. Harrington Medal from the Society for Historical Archaeology, and in 1997 he received the Honorary Doctor of Humanities degree from the University of South Carolina. In 1999 Governor Jim Hodges of South Carolina presented him with the Order of the Palmetto for his outstanding contribution to history and archaeology in South Carolina.

Shannon Tushingham was graduated from the University of Connecticut with a B.A. in anthropology in 1991. She has worked in contract archaeology for various firms in the southwestern and southeastern United States, excavated in the Dordogne Valley, France, and directed and codirected field schools in Mississippi, Tennessee, and California. Tushingham completed her master's degree at the University of Memphis in 2000 and is currently working toward her doctoral degree at the University of California-Davis.

John A. Walthall received academic and field training in archaeology at the University of Alabama with David DeJarnette, at the University of Michigan with James B. Griffin, and at the University of North Carolina with Joffre Coe. After teaching for several years at Alabama, Walthall moved to Illinois in 1978, where he was appointed Chief Archaeologist for the Illinois Department of Transportation. Walthall supervised the massive I-270 archaeological project in the American Bottom and was coeditor with Charles J. Bareis of the twenty-eight volumes of resulting reports. His fifty-three publications include numerous journal articles, several books and monographs, and a summary of Alabama archaeology that remains in print twenty years after publication.

Gregory Waselkov is Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Center for Archaeological Studies at the University of South Alabama. Among his

publications on Southeastern ethnohistory and archaeology are the popular booklet *Old Mobile Archaeology* (1999) and two coedited volumes, *William Bartram and the Southeastern Indians* (1995, with Kathryn Braund) and *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (1989, with Peter Wood and Thomas Hatley).

Stephen Williams is Peabody Professor of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Emeritus, in the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University and honorary curator of North American Archaeology at Harvard's Peabody Museum. Professor Williams was at Harvard for nearly forty years (1954–1993,) holding a variety of research, administrative, and teaching positions during his long tenure there.

He received his academic training at Yale and the University of Michigan, with his Ph.D in anthropology from Yale. His archaeological field research has been focused on the southeastern United States, about which he has written various books and articles. He headed the Peabody Museum's Lower Mississippi Survey, its longest-running research project (begun in 1939) from 1958 until 1993. He was also Director of the Peabody Museum for a decade (1967–1977) and turned out more than thirty-five Ph.Ds in the field of North American archaeology.

His archaeological interests cover the spectrum of Lower Mississippi Valley prehistory from Paleo-Indians to the Historic period and beyond. He is particularly concerned with the intellectual history of American archaeology, including the more bizarre side of the field represented by what he has called "Fantastic Archaeology." He wrote a book in 1991 with that title for a popular audience.

Following his retirement from Harvard in July 1993, he moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he is continuing his research and writing on both the Lower Mississippi Valley and a long-term project on the history of North American archaeology beginning with the first colonization of the New World.

Index

- Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia, 15, 78, 195
- Ackerly, Neal, 154
- Ackia Battlefield, 187–88
- Adair, James, 19
- Adair Site, 81
- Adams, Robert McCormick, 69–70
- Adena culture, 119, 163; publications on, 116, 164
- Adena-Hopewell complex, 162
- Adovasio, James M., 190
- African American: archaeology, 49, 158; cultural identity, 47–48
- Alabama, state of, 207
- Alabama, University of, 192, 205, 206, 207; Department of Anthropology, 208; field schools, 202, 203, 208; Office of Archaeological Research, 190, 192
- Alabama Anthropological Society, 204, 208
- Alabama Archaeological Society, 197, 208
- Alabama Historical Commission, 207
- Alabama Museum of Natural History, 80, 195, 197, 200, 208
- Alabama River, 204; phase, 206
- Alachua culture, 220
- Albright, Alan, 158
- Algonkian tribes, 126
- Allan Mack site, 153
- Allatoona Reservoir, 211
- Altamaha Reservoir, 23
- Alton site, 99; Piasa pictograph at, 99
- Amer, Chris, 158
- American Anthropological Association, 1966 symposium, 239
- American Antiquarian Society, 15, 64
- American Association for the Advancement of Science, 100, 101, 233
- American Bottom: archaeology; 112; region, 32
- American Museum of Natural History, 11, 15, 83, 186
- American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, 64, 137
- American Society for Conservation Archaeology, 87
- Amherst College, 240
- Amos Power Plant site, 122
- Andalex Village site, 167, 168
- Anderson, Leo, 72, 74
- Angel site, 167, 168
- Anna Mound, 184, 188
- Anthony, Ronald W., 158
- Anthropology: cultural, 105; four-field approach, 105; social, 105, 108

- Apalachee culture, 229
 Appalachian Power Company, 129
 Appalachian State College, 139
 Appomattox, Civil War site, 131
 Archaeobotanical studies, 49
 Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974, 87, 138. *See also* Moss-Bennett Act
 Archaeological Conservancy, 82
 Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, 179
 Archaeological Society of North Carolina, 137, 138
 Archaeological Society of South Carolina, 147, 152
 Archaeological Society of Virginia (ASV), 129, 134; members as volunteer workforce, 130; policy, 131; projects, 130
 Archaeology: avocational; 134, 237–38; democratization of, 107, 239, 241–42; public education role of, 224; salvage, 46, 110, 161; “shoe-string,” 111. *See also* cultural resource management
 Archaic Period, 74, 81, 178; Early, 55, 162, 178, 228; Middle, 155, 178, 190, 228; Late, 154, 228; diet during, 177, 178, 228; onset of mound building in, 228; primary forest efficiency during, 162; sites in Florida, 228; sites in Kentucky, 162; sites in S. Illinois, 108; sites in South Carolina, 151
 Aristotle, 16
 Arkansas, University of: Museum, 78, 79, 84, 85; students of, 80
 Arkansas Archaeological Society, 82, 84
 Arkansas Archaeological Survey, 77, 82, 86, 236, 237; Automated Management of Archaeological Site Data database, 53; formation of, 84; Survey Research Stations, 84
 Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, 85
 Arkansas Post National Memorial, 82
 Arkansas Power and Light Company, 79
 Arkansas River, 78, 79, 83
 Armored phase, 167
 Armstrong Culture, 118–19, 120
 Armstrong Mountain, 122
 Artifact classificatory systems, historical, 35, 44
 Asphalt Plant, 202
 Asreen, Robert C., 154
 Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA), 127, 133
 Astin, Robyn L., 203
 Atkinson, James R., 190
 Auburn University, 207
 Aucilla River, 228
 Augustin Rochon Plantation site, 207
 Avenue site, 183
 Avery Island, 74, 89
 Avocational archaeology, 134
 Awendaw pottery, 152
 Ayers, Harvard, 139
 Baby, Raymond S., 116
 BAE. *See* Bureau of American Ethnology
 Baklanoff, Joy D., 200
 Banana Bayou Mound, 89
 Bareis, Charles J., 15, 109, 112, 113
 Barka, Norman F., 131
 Barley Basin project, 161
 Barren Reservoir, 161
 Bartram, William, 147, 172, 181, 209
 Bass Pond site, 155
 Battle, Herbert, 204
 Bauxar, J. Joe, 176
 Bay Springs rock shelter excavations, 190
 Bayou Goula site, 11
 Bayou Sel site, 82
 Bays, Jean and Gene, 122
 Baytown period, 73
 Bear Creek Mounds, 188
 Beaver Reservoir, 84
 Beckes, Michael, 123, 124
 Beckwith, Newman, 64, 68
 Beckwith, Thomas, 64, 68, 71, 75–76

- Beckwith's Fort, 66, 71
 Beckwith's Ranch, 66
 Beech Bottom Mound, 116, 117
 Beech Fork Lake survey, 124
 Bell, Robert, 27
 Bell Beaker Culture, 21
 Belle Glade culture, 224
 Belmont, John, 111, 187
 Benedum Foundation, grants from, 122
 Bennett, John W., 103, 105
 Bense, Judith A., 190
 Benthall, Joseph L., 130
 Bethabara, site, 45
 Bicentennial celebrations, 45, 207
 Binford, Lewis, 41, 43, 107, 111, 131, 160, 169, 201, 239
 Binford, Sally, 169
 Bioarchaeology, 48, 49
 Bird, Junius, 11
 Birmingham site, 166
 Black, Glen, 15, 108
 Black River, 78
 Black Warrior/Alabama River Cultures, 20
 Black Warrior River, 199
 Black water fever, 7
 Blakeman, Crawford, 169
 Blanding, William, 147
 Blennerhassett: Drama Association, 124;
 Island, 117, 123, 124; mansion, 123
 Bluestone River, 116
 Blum Mounds, 183
 Boas, Franz, 102
 Bohannon, Charles F., 164, 188
 Bordes, François, 169; Middle Paleolithic
 typological system of, 169
 Bordes-Crabtree Les Eyzies Seminar, 169
 Bottle Creek site, 16, 206; Mound L, 206
 Bowdoin College, 65
 Boyd site, 189
 Boyer, William P., 126, 131
 Bozeman, Tandy K., 202
 Brackenridge, Henry Marie, 63–64, 99
 Brackenridge, Hugh Henry, 63
 Bragg, Laura M., 149
 Braided stream surfaces, 53
 Braidwood, Robert J., 239
 Brain, Jeffrey P., 15, 29, 187
 Brier Creek Lanceolate points, 152
 British, colonial system, sites of, 40
 British Museum, 21
 Britt Bottom Site, 119
 Broad River points, 152
 Brockington, Paul, 154
 Brookes, Samuel O., 189, 191
 Brooks, Mark J., 155
 Brose, David S., 190, 239
 Broster, John B., 177, 180
 Brown, Calvin S., 184, 193
 Brown, Ian W., 31, 33, 187
 Brown, Marley, 128
Brown vs. Board of Education, 214
 Broyles, Bettye, J., 122
 Brunswick Town: excavations, 136, 138, 142; State Historical Site, 39–40, 45, 141
 Buckner site, Fort Ancient component, 164
 Buffalo River, 79
 Buffalo site, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122
 Bullen, Ripley P., 41, 129, 219, 220, 225
 Bull Shoals Lake, 83
 Bureau of American Ethnology, 15, 65, 69, 79, 101, 116, 127, 128, 129, 148–49, 195, 211, 235; mound excavation program, 19, 66, 78, 199
 Burial Urn culture, 201, 204, 206
 Burkett, Charles, 72
 Burkett Site, 72
 Bushnell, David I., 15, 126, 127, 128
 Bussell Place site, 173
 Butler, Brian, 112
 Bynum Mound, 188
 Byrd, Kathleen M., 91
 Cable, John S., 158
 Caborn Welborn phase, 167
 Cactus Hill site, 132
 Caddoan culture, 81; burial practices, 84; mounds, 78

- Cahokia, 30, 31, 32, 64, 71, 100, 102, 103, 108, 113; Stirling phase of, 203
 Caldwell, Joseph R., 15, 37, 38, 129, 151, 162–63, 165, 209, 211, 212, 235
 Caldwell, Sheila K., 38
 California, University of: at Berkeley, 240; at Santa Barbara, 201, 240
 Calloway site, 163
 Caloosahatchie, 228
 Cal Smoak site, 153
 Calusa culture, 228, 229; aqua-culture of, 228
 Cambridge, University of, 240
 Camden, South Carolina, site, 45
 Camp Allegheny, 120
 Campbell, Harryette, 74
 Cannon Reservoir, 23
 Canouts, Val, 155
 Capitalism, 46, 47
 Carbon-14 dating, 74, 89
 Carlston Annis Mound site, 166
 Carlyle Reservoir area, 110
 Carnegie Foundation, 79; grants, 80, 235
 Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, 116
 Carr, Lucian, 126–27
 Carter, James E., 213
 Catawba College, 139
 Cave glyphs, 29, 33
 Cave Research Foundation, 162
 Cave Run Reservoir, 161, 169
 CCC. *See* Civilian Conservation Corps
 Cedar Grove Mound, 121
 Center for American Archaeology, 111
 Central Mississippi Valley, sites, 77
 Chambers, Moreau B.C., 8, 36, 129, 185, 186, 188, 189, 192, 193
 Chapman, Carl, 15, 72, 74, 86, 87, 110
 Chapman, James H., 205
 Chapman, Jefferson, 15, 143, 178
 Charles, Tommy, 154, 155, 156
 Charleston Museum, 145, 149, 235; site files, 149, 152
 Charlotte Thompson Mound, 204
 Chatelaine, Verne, 37
 Chattahoochee River, 217
 Chauga Mound, 151
 Cheat River Site, 122
 Cherokee settlements: Chota, 178; Citico (Sticoe), 172, 178, 181; Tommotly, 178; Toqua, 178
 Cherokee tribe: historic sites, 83; Overhill culture of, 178
 Chert studies: sequence, 169; sources, 169–70
 Chesapeake Bay region, 46, 126
 Chester Field shell ring site, 149
 Chicago, University of, 7, 26, 107, 109, 240; field school, 37, 102, 112, 186, 195, 200; influence of, 37, 47, 103, 108; “method,” 103; students, 37, 70
 Chickamauga Basin project, 176
 Chickasaw tribe, site occupation, 166, 188
 Chiefdom level society, 30
 Childersburg site, 204, 212
 Chisler, Charles, 118
 Chisler Site, 117, 118
 Choctaw tribe, homeland excavations, 185
 Chronology building: historical, 35; methodologies of, 36
 CHSA. *See* Conference on Historic Site Archaeology
 Chucalissa Project, 177
 Chunkee stones, 32
 Churchill, Winston, 234
 Cisco, city of, 174. *See also* Pinson Mounds site
 City Archaeology Program, 45
 Civilian Conservation Corps, 186, 200–201; Camp Baltzell work camp at Moundville, 200
 Civil War, 19, 65, 99–100, 101, 115, 172, 173; historic sites, 93, 120, 170
 Civil Works Administration, 36, 174, 196
 Claassen, Cheryl, 241
 Claflin, William, 209
 Claremont Manor, historic site, 131
 Clark Hill Reservoir, 151

- Classification, methodologies of, 36
- Clay Mound site, 164
- Cleek-McCabe site, Fort Ancient component, 164
- Cleland, Charles, 79
- Cleveland, Parker, 65
- Clovis, remains in Tennessee, 180
- Coastal Environments (archaeology firm), 191
- Coats-Hines site, 180; mastodon, 180
- Cobb, Charles, 112
- Cob Cave site, 80
- Code of Federal Regulations, 106 (CFR 106); compliance with, 217
- Coe, Joffe L., 37, 39, 40, 128, 137, 140, 141, 142, 196; Archaic point sequence of, 128–29, 140, 153
- Cofitachequi chiefdom, 147; contact with De Soto, 156
- Cole, Faye-Cooper, 71, 102, 103, 105, 107
- College of Charleston, 152
- College of William and Mary, 132
- Collier, Donald, 10
- Collins, Henry B., 8, 15, 184, 185
- Collins, Michael B., 169
- Colonialism, 46, 47
- Columbia Reservoir, 23, 179
- Columbus, quincentenary anniversary of, 48
- Company Period, in Virginia, 132
- Conagree Creek, 154
- Conestee site, 137
- Conference on Historic Site Archaeology; 41; papers, 41, 45; split with SEAC, 41
- Conly Site, 92
- Connaway, John M., 189
- Contract archaeology, 114
- Cooper, Alan, 124
- Cooper, Peter P., 139
- Cooper River, 150, 154
- Cooper Site, 81, 82
- Coordinating Council of National Archaeological Societies, 223
- Coosa, chiefdom capital, 204, 212
- Coose River, 204, 205, 207
- Copena: burial mounds, 195; complex, 195, 198; copper artifacts, 198; galena artifacts, 198; trade networks, 198
- Copper artifacts, 11, 30, 31, 195; studies of, 30
- Corbett, John, 41, 87
- Cosgrove, Mr. and Mrs. C. B., 209
- Cotter, John L., 128, 188
- Cottier, John W., 205, 207
- Cottonlandia Conference, 34
- Council of Virginia Archaeologists (COVA), 133, 134
- Cowan, Wesley C., 15, 163
- Crabtree Award, 97
- Cramer, Zadok, 99, 100
- Creek tribes, 37; culture; Lower Creek, 204; sites, 204, 205; Upper Creek, 204
- Creek War of 1813–14, 204
- Cressey, Pamela, 132
- Cridlebaugh, Patricia, 143
- Crigler Mound, 164
- Crites, Gary D., 179
- Crittendon, Christopher, 142
- Crooked Ridge, 71
- Croswell, C., 66
- Crowley's Ridge, 72, 75
- Cultural ecology, 181, 191, 201
- Cultural evolution, 191, 201
- Cultural materialism, paradigm, 181, 182
- Cultural resource management, 44, 87, 134, 166, 181, 236; in Louisiana, 94–95; in Mississippi, 191, 193; projects, 90, 179, 192; as training ground, 180; vs. university-based archaeology, 160, 181, 192, 221–22, 236–37
- Culture contact, 49; vs. acculturation, 46, 178; exchange, 49
- Culture history, 43, 105; vs. culture process debate, 47, 112, 239, 240; intellectual conservatism of, 241; interpretations, 162; paradigm, 104, 107, 177, 191, 234; revival, 240
- Cumbaa, Stephen L., 49

- Cumberland River, 180
 Cushing, Frank Hamilton, 127, 225, 227, 228
 Custer, Jay, 131
 CWA. *See* Civil Works Administration
- Dalton culture, 53, 84, 153, 197
 Dalton points, 53, 72; S.C. variants, 152
 Dalton Project, 53
 Danville Tank site, 169
 Dardanelle Reservoir, 83
 Daugherty Cave, 130
 Dauphin Island, 207
 Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, 77
 Davis, E. H., 115
 Davis, Hester A., 15, 110, 238
 Davis, R. P. Stephen, Jr., 125, 143
 Deagan, Kathleen, 42, 43
 Deasonville Site, 8, 185
 DeBaillou, Clemens, 38
 DeBoer, Warren R., 33
 Deetz, James, 42, 46, 131
 De Hass, Wills, 100, 101
 DeJarnette, David L., 15, 80, 142, 193, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 204, 205, 208, 212
 DeJarnette, James, 80, 201
 Dellinger, S. C., 78–80, 81, 82, 83
 De Luna, Tristan, 48; expedition of 1559–61, 206
 De Narvaez, Panfilo, 48
 Dendochronology, studies in, 174
 Denton site, 189
 DePratter, Chester, 50, 149, 155, 156, 158
 Deptford Culture, 21, 151
 Derting, Keith, 159
 De Sonneville-Bordes, D., Upper Paleolithic sequence of, 169
 De Soto, Hernando: expedition route, 37, 48, 82, 212; effect on Native American culture, 205
 Detroit Museum, 34
 Dever, Garlan, 169
- D'Iberville, Sieur Pierre LeMoyne, 16
 Dickens, Roy S., 140, 143, 205
 Dickenson, S. D., 81
 Dickson, Bruce, 179
 Dickson, Don F., 102; family, 102; site, 102, 103
 Direct historical approach, 33, 173, 185
 Dog River, 207
 Dollar, Clyde, 41; "Dollar Exchange," 41
 Dorr Mound, 183
 Dorwin, John, 139
 Double Bridges site, 73
 Douglas, Andrew E., 225
 Douglas Reservoir, 176
 Driskell, Boyce, 197, 202
 Drucker, Lesley M., 158
 Duck Valley site, 178
 Duffield, Lathiel, 27
 Duncan site, 166
 Dunkards, historic site, 130
 Dunnell, Robert, 15, 74, 119, 240
 Dust Cave, 197, 208
 Dwight Mission, 83
 Dye, David H., 233, 234
- Early, Ann M., 84
 Earspools, 32
 East Carolina University, 138; Phelps Laboratory of Archaeology at, 140, 141; underwater archaeology at, 139
 Eastern States Archaeological Federation, 129
 East Lynn Reservoir survey, 120
 Eaton site, 166
 Edgefield scraper, 152
 Edgewood Rock Shelter, 125
 Edisto River, 153
 Edwards, William E., 151, 152, 237
 Edwards Mound, 183
 Egloff, Keith, 143
 Egypt, 17
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., administration, 214
 Elk River, 125

- Elliott, Daniel T., 151
El Nuevo Constante shipwreck, 92
 Emerald Mound, 184, 188
 Emerson, Thomas E., 33
 Enchanted Castle site, 133
 Enlightenment, 18
 Environmental Protection Act of 1969, 130
 Ethnoarchaeology, 24
 Ethnohistoric interpretations, 166
 Ethnology, studies, 127
 Etowah Mounds, 26, 184, 209, 215;
 Mound B, 26, 29; Mound C, 26, 29, 215; purchase of, 213
 Etowah River, 211, 215, 217
 Eubanks, Thomas H., 91
 European: contact, 37, 38; interaction with Native American cultures, 35, 37, 206, 229
 Evangelism, 46
 Evans, Clifford, 129
 Evans, Robert, 100
 Evers, Edward, 65
 Evolution, human, 46, 214, 236
 Ewen, Charles R., 141
 Exaggerationalists, 113
 Executive Order 11593, 179
- FAI-270 Project (Federally Approved Interstate-270), 23, 112–13
 Fairbanks, Charles H., 15, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 47, 142, 145, 176, 196, 204, 209, 211, 219, 220, 225, 226, 235
 Fairchance Mound, 120
 Fatherland site, 36, 186, 188–89
 Faye Mound, 124
 Fayette County Redevelopment Corporation, 118
 Feather Rock Petroglyphs, 124
 Featherstonhaugh, Thomas, 225
 Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 186
 Feest, Christian F., 131
 Ferguson, Leland G., 151, 154, 158
- Fewkes site, 174
 Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago), 15, 102
 First Metropolis Expedition of 1934, 106
 Fischer, Fred W., 177
 Fisheating Creek, 224
 Fisher, Alton, 21
 Fish Haul Creek site, Stalling's period component, 156
 Fishtrap Reservoir, 161, 165
 Fisk, Harold N., 8, 51, 52, 55–57, 75
 Fiske, Moses, 172
 Flannery, Regina, 149–50
 Flint Creek Rock Shelter, 196
 Florida, state of: Division of Archives, History and Records Management, 219, 220; Division of Historical Resources, 220, 224; Park Service, archaeology division, 38, 219, 220, 225
 Florida, University of, 49, 220; field school, 45, 219, 222
 Florida Archaeological Council, 221
 Florida Atlantic University, 219, 222
 Florida missions, 38
 Florida State Museum, 219; renamed Florida Museum of Natural History, 219
 Florida State University, 38, 204, 219, 222
 Flowerdew Hundred Plantation, 131
 Ford, James A., 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 36, 52, 53, 82, 83, 86, 88, 89, 165, 166, 185, 186, 188, 192, 209, 235; Alaskan experience, 8, 185; ceramic typology developed by, 8, 186
 Ford, Janet L., 189
 Ford, Richard I., 163
 Ford: Model A, 5; Model T, 5
 Ford-Spaulding Debate, 11
 Fort Ancient culture: 116, 119, 123, 165; sequence, 166; site, 164
 Fort Center site, 219, 220, 224, 228
 Fort Condé (Fort Charlotte, Fort Carlota), 206, 207
 Fort Fisher, 139

- Fort Frederica site, 37, 38, 40, 45; National Monument, 211
- Fort Frederick, 129
- Fort Hawkins, 37
- Fort Jackson, 157, 207
- Fort King George, 213
- Fort Loudoun, 180
- Fort Louis, 207
- Fort Macon, 138
- Fort Polk, archaeological facilities, 96
- Fort Raleigh site, 136, 138
- Fort St. Joseph Site, 12
- Fort Tombeché (also known as Fort York and Fort Confederation), 207
- Fort Toulouse, 207
- Fort Walton culture, 228; maize agriculture of, 228
- Fort Watson, 154
- Fourche Maline occupation, 81
- Fowke, Gerard, 68–69, 115, 127, 195
- Fowler, Daniel B., 122–25
- Fowler, Melvin L. (“Mike”), 108, 111
- Francis Marion National Forest, 155, 157
- French, Mrs. John D., 89
- French Charlesfort, 149
- Fried, Morton, 201
- Fritz, Gayle J., 80, 163
- Frutchey Mound, 137, 138. *See also* Town Creek Indian Mound
- Fryxell Award, 97
- Fullerton Field site, 164
- Fulmer, Darrell W., 123
- Functionalism, 105, 106, 107, 108, 174, 176, 177; vs. culture history, 107
- Funkhouser, William D., 4, 6, 165, 166, 174
- Fusihatchee site, 206, 208
- Futato, Eugene, 196
- Garden Creek site, 136
- Gardner, William M., 131
- Garrow, Patrick H., 158
- Gaston site, 140
- Gatts Mound, 116, 117
- Gatus, Thomas, 169
- Geier, Clarence, 132
- Gender issues, 47, 241–42
- Geoarchaeological study, 51
- Geographic Information Systems (GIS), 158–59
- Geology, 75
- Geomorphology, 51, 58, 59–60
- Georgia, state of, 212, 215, 216; Department of Natural Resources, 213; Highway Department, 213; Historical Commission, 213; Parks Department, 212, 217
- Georgia, University of, 119, 211, 212; Department of Anthropology, 211; at Athens, 212; at Old College, 212
- Georgia Sea Islands sites, 47
- Gerber, Jim, 29
- G.I. Bill, 37, 107, 239
- Gibson, Jon L., 90
- Gilcrease Museum, 15
- Gillam, Holly, 159
- Gilliam, Judge Charles, 130
- Gillies, Judith L., 203
- Gilmore, Melvin, 79
- Glades culture, as an outdated construct, 229
- Glassie, Henry, 42
- Globe Hill Shell Heap, 116, 117
- Goff Mound, 122
- Goggin, John M., 38, 41, 219, 225, 227, 235
- Goheen site, 166
- Goldsmith, Maurice, 201
- Goodwin & Associates (archaeology firm), 191
- Goodyear, Albert C., 154, 156, 158
- Gopher*, 69, 195
- Gordon Town site, 174
- Gore Mound, 125
- Goslin, Robert, 73
- Gould, Stephen Jay, 192
- Graham, J. B., 177
- Graham, Judge William J., 128
- Graham Cave, 196

- Graham site, 163
 Grange, Roger T., 219, 220
 Grave Creek Mound, 115, 117, 118, 123, 125
 Great Chain of Being, 18
 Great Depression, 69, 79, 142, 166, 192, 193, 196, 199, 200, 208, 209, 214
 Great Salt Spring site, 102
 Green, Thomas J., 84, 167
 Green Bible, 151, 176
 Greengo, Robert E., 11, 83
 Greenhouse site, 52
 Green River Shell Mounds, 23
 Green River Valley region, 163
 Gregorie, Anne King, 149
 Gregory, Hiram F., 90, 91
 Gregory, L. B., Jr., 131
 Gremillion, Kristen J., 163, 206
 Greybill, Jeffrey, 125
 Griffin, James B., 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 31, 32, 37, 38, 41, 52, 71, 72, 73, 74, 82, 86, 116, 123, 128, 150, 164–65, 174, 186, 192, 196, 235, 239, 241
 Griffin, John W., 37, 41, 131, 219, 220, 225, 227
 Grigsby Mound, 119
 Groton Plantation, 153
 G. S. Lewis site, 156
 Guilday, John E., 122, 178
 Guilford Courthouse site, 140
 Gums, Bonnie L., 207
 Guntersville River Basin, 196
 Guthe, Alfred “Ted,” 15, 178
 Guthe, Carl, 5, 7, 12, 79
 Guyandot Petroglyphs, 115

 Haag, William G., 3, 4, 12, 52, 89, 91, 141, 187, 188, 235
 Halbert, Henry, 204
 Halbirt, Carl, 45
 Hale, J. P., 116
 Hall, Robert L., 33
 Hally, David J., 36, 38
 Hamilton, Henry W., 31
 Hammerstadt, Scott W., 203
 Hampson, James K., 73, 80–81
 Hampson Collection, 73
 Hand site, 130
 Hannibal Locks and Dam area, 123
 Hansford Site, 122, 123
 Hanson, Glen T., 156
 Hanson, Lee H., Jr., 122
 Hardaway site, 140
 Hardesty, Donald I., 164
 Hardin Village site, 164, 165
 Hariot, Thomas, 126
 Harn, Alan, 109, 111
 Harrington, Jean C. “Pinky,” 37, 41, 128, 129, 138
 Harrington, M. R., 78, 173, 174
 Harris, Donald A., 206
 Harvard University, 11, 51, 73, 81, 83, 91, 103, 126–27, 153, 209; Peabody Museum, 16, 65, 70, 73, 102, 173, 183, 186, 187, 235
 Hatch site, 131
 Haury, Emil, 71
 Hawkins-Davison Houses site, 40
 Hawley, Florence M., 174
 Haynes Bluff site, 187
 Heldman, Donald P., 207
 Helena Crossing Site, 83
 Hemmings, E. Thomas, 124, 125
 Henry, Joseph, 77
 Henry Kelly Collection, 121
 Henry K. Hampson II Memorial Museum, 81
 Herriot Farm Village Site, 116, 117; Susquehannock village, 116
 Hester site, 189
 Hevener Mound site, 117, 122
 Heye, George, 136, 209
 Heye Foundation, 15, 136, 173
 Hilliard, Jerry, 79–80
 Hinsdale, Wilbert B., 6
 Historical linguistics, 18
 Historic Sites Act of 1935, 36
 Historic Sites Archaeological Conference, 41

- Historical archaeology, 19, 43, 75
 Hodges, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas L., 81–82
 Hoecake site, 71
 Hoffman, Michael P., 84
 Holder, Preston, 31, 32, 33, 83, 209
 Holland, C. G., 129
 Holland, Jeffrey L. 158
 Hollywood Mounds, 148
 Holmes, William Henry, 15, 77, 116, 127, 148, 149, 235
 Holocene, 57, 196, 197
 Hontoon Island site, 228
 Hopewell Culture, 11, 32, 83, 103, 163, 195, 198; interaction sphere, 198
 Horseshoe Bend National Battlefield Park, 205
 House, John H., 154
 Howard, James H., 33
 Howard, Lynn, 83
 Howington, Arthur F., 200
 Hudson, Charles D., 33, 158
 Hume, Ivor Noël, 40, 41, 128
 Hunter-gatherer society, adaptation to Pleistocene/Holocene transition, 196
 Husher, Harold, 212
 Hutto, Brooks, 120
 Hyre Mound, 117, 119

 Illinois, University of, 104, 108, 109, 112; Department of Anthropology, 109; Department of Sociology, 103
 Illinois Archaeological Survey, Inc., 109, 110, 114
 Illinois Natural History Society, 101
 Illinois State Museum, 108, 109, 162
 Illinois State University, 109
 Indian Cave, 116
 Indian Museum of the Carolinas, 139
 Indiana, University of, 108
 Indiana State University, 121
 Industrial archaeology: definition of, 170; examples of, 170
 Institute Mound, 120
 Irene Mound, 8, 209, 217

 Iroquoian tribes, 126
 Isinglass Mound, 125
 Island, 35, Mastodon, 180

 Jackson, Edwin H., 193
 Jaketown Site, 10, 52, 72, 187, 188
 James Madison University, 132
 James River Valley, 127
 Jamestown: exhibits, 39; site, 127, 128, 132
 Jamestown Island, 133
 Janzen, Donald E., 171
 Jarvis Farm site, 122
 Jefferson, Thomas, 64, 126; Monticello home of, 126, 133; Poplar Forest home of, 133
 Jennings, Jesse D., 176, 187, 192, 196
 Jensen, Richard E., 122
 Jeter, Marvin D., 78
 Jewel Mound, 124
 Jo Daviess Field Program, 103
 Johnson, Jay K., 21, 233, 234, 240
 Johnson, Leonard, 117
 Johnson, Michael F., 132
 Johnson site, 180
 Joint Education Consortium of Arkadelphia, 82
 Jonathan Creek Village site, 166, 168
 Jones, Charles C., 19, 147, 209
 Jones, Indiana, 17
 Jones, Joseph, 173
 Jones, L. B., 34
 Jones, Reca, 97
 Jones, Walter B., 193, 195, 200, 204, 235
 Joseph, J. W., 158
 Judd, Neil, 185
 Judge, Christopher, 158

 Kain, John H., 172
 Kanawha River Valley, 115, 120; basin survey of, 121
 Kanawha Stemmed Point, 120
 Keel, Bennie C., 140
 Keller, James, 15, 117
 Kelley, J. Charles, 108, 109

- Kelly, Arthur R., 15, 26, 37, 41, 103–4, 151, 209, 211, 212, 217
- Kelso, William M., 133
- Kent site, 183
- Kentucky, University of, 4, 6, 15, 162, 196
- Kentucky Reservoir, 176
- Keowee-Toxoway Reservoir project, 152
- Keyauwee site, 137
- Key Marco site, 30, 228
- Keyser Farm site, 128
- Kiawah Island, 155
- Kincaid site, 7, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 111, 167, 168, 186, 195
- King, Adam, 29
- King, Arden, 89
- King, Fain, 103
- Kingsley Plantation Site, 47
- Kirtley site, 166
- Klickholn, Clyde
- Klippel, Walter, 179
- Knapp, Mrs. Gilbert, 77
- Knapp Mounds site, 77. *See also* Toltec site
- Kneberg, Madeline, 15, 175, 176, 196, 235
- Kniffen, Fred, 3, 8
- Knight, Vernon James, Jr., 31, 33, 194, 198, 203, 204, 205
- Kolomoki State Park, 211, 212, 217
- Koslovich, Gene, 72
- Koster site, 111
- Krause, Richard A., 202
- Krieger, Alex, B., 27, 33, 81
- Krogman, Witton, 102
- Kuhn, Tom, 125
- Kus, Susan, 31
- Lacefield, Hyla L., 203
- Lafferty, Robert H., 75
- Lafourche Complex, 57
- Lake George site, 183, 187, 188
- Lake Jackson site, 30
- Lake Marion, 150
- Lake Moultrie, 150
- Lake Ouachita, 79
- Lally, Charles, 122
- Lamar Phase, 26
- Lange, Charles, 108
- Langford, George, 102
- LaPlant site, 73
- Larson, Lewis, 26, 29, 30, 83, 206, 239
- Laurens-Anderson corridor survey, 154
- Leader, Jonathan M., 152
- Lee, Robert E., 133; Stratford Hall, birth-place of, 133
- Lee, Sammy, 153
- Lee Farm Site, 120
- Lemley, Judge Harry J., 81
- Leone, Mark, 42, 46
- Lesueur, Charles Alexander, 100
- Levy, Janet, 139
- Lewis, Ernest, 138
- Lewis, Father Clifford, 120
- Lewis, Kenneth E., 154, 158
- Lewis, Oscar, 109
- Lewis, Thomas M. N., 15, 175, 176, 196, 235
- Liddell, Emil, 123
- Lilbourn site, 64
- Lilly, Eli, grant to J. Coe, 137, 138
- Lindsley site, “earthrings” of, 173
- Linton Mound, 120
- Little Kanawha River, 123
- Little River, 78
- Little Tennessee River, 178
- LMS. *See* Lower Mississippi Valley Survey
- Loftfield, Tom, 139
- Logan, John A., 101
- Logan House Hotel, 101
- Logical positivism, 22
- Lon Robertson site, 201
- Los Adaes site, 48, 93–94
- Lost Colony, search for, 136
- Louisiana Archaeological Society, 96–97; bulletin series, 97
- Louisiana Archaeology Week, 92
- Louisiana Division of Archaeology, 91, 237; formation of, 91; directors, 91;

- publications, 91; Regional Archaeology Program, 92; State Historic Preservation Office, 95; Station Archaeology Program, 93
- Louisiana Endowment of the Humanities, 3
- Louisiana Purchase, 64
- Louisiana State University, 3, 8, 51, 52, 88; Department of Geography and Anthropology, 3, 4, 89, 186, 188
- Louisiana, University of, at Lafayette, 90
- Lovejoy, Thomas, 18
- Lower Mississippi River Valley, 51, 63, 70
- Lower Mississippi Valley Survey, 51, 72, 83, 186, 187, 189, 192
- Lower Ohio River Valley, 103; Black Bottom of, 103
- Lower Ohio Valley Project, 111
- Lubbub Creek, 190
- Lyman, R. Lee, 74, 88
- Lyon, Edwin A., 210
- Lyon's Bluff site, 186, 189, 192

- MacCord, Howard A., 116
- MacNeish, R. S. (Scotty), 106
- Macon Trading Post site, 37
- Madison, James, 133; Montpelier, home of, 133
- Mahan, Joseph, Jr., 41
- Mainfort, Robert C., Jr., 177
- Mairs, Oscar, 120
- Malaria, 7
- Mammoth Cave National Park, 162
- Manning site, 153
- Manson, Carl P., 116, 128
- Marcoux, Jon B., 203
- Markin, Julie G., 203
- Marksville-Hopewell people, 177
- Marksville Site, 88; excavation, 3; museum, 89; report on, 92-93
- Marshall, Richard A., 15, 189
- Martin, Paul S., 10, 102
- Martin Justice site, 163

- Marxist theory, 46
- Maslowski, Bob, 125
- Mason, George, 133; Gunston Hall, home of, 133
- Mason's Plantation Mound Group, 147
- Mathis, Mark A., 141
- Mattassee Lake site, 154
- Matthews Site, 70
- Maxwell, Moreau S., 210
- Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop, 29
- Mayer-Oakes, William, 116
- May Moore Mound, 119
- Mayo site, 164
- McAdams, William, Jr., 101
- McAvoy, Joseph, 132
- McCary, Ben C., 129
- McClelland-Kerr Navigation System, 84
- McCleod Bluff site, 166
- McClung Museum, 15, 23
- McCollock Mound, 122
- McCollough, Major C. R., 177, 178
- McFadden, Eliza, 28, 29
- McGahey, Samuel O., 189
- McGee, W. J., 101
- McGhee-Snow, Katherine, 203
- McGimsey, Charles R., 15, 79, 83, 84, 86, 87, 110, 134
- McGregor, John, 109
- McKenzie, Douglas H., 201
- McKern, William C., 15
- McKern Classification System, 6. *See also* Midwestern Taxonomic Method
- McLean, David, 139
- McMichael, Edward V., 115, 118-21, 124
- McNutt, Charles H., 11, 50, 119, 177, 180, 181, 233
- Mean Ceramic Data Formula, 40, 41
- Means Site, 81, 82
- Meier, Larry, 41
- Memphis State University, 177, 179, 180
- Menard Site, 82, 83
- Mercer, Henry Champman, 127; search for Early Man, 127

- Meso-America, 29; archaeology, 89, 102; influence of, 163–64, 165; -style agriculture, 162
- Metress, James, 122
- Michals, Lauren M., 202
- Michie, James L., 152, 153, 154, 155, 237; Dalton butchering experiments of, 158
- Michigan, University of, 51, 71, 83, 137, 186, 190; ceramic repository, 9; influence of, 37, 47; Museum of Anthropology, 14, 15, 79; Press, 201; students of, 37
- Middleton, James, 199
- Midwestern Taxonomic Method, 21, 103, 104. *See also* McKern Classification System
- Miller, Carl F., 129, 130, 151, 211, 212
- Miller, John, 73
- Mill Pond site, 117
- Milner Village site, 205
- Minimalists, 113
- Minim Island site, 156
- Minnesota, University of, 211; field school, 212
- Mission-fort-town complexes, 45, 48
- Mississippi, Department of Archives and History, 185, 189, 191, 193; Geological Survey, 184; Highway Department, 10, 187, 191; State Historical Museum, 188, 189; State Historic Preservation Officer, 189
- Mississippi, University of (“Ole Miss”), 4, 8, 184, 187, 192; Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 188, 189, 190, 193; field schools, 189
- Mississippi Alluvial Valley Archaeological Program, 86
- Mississippian Period, 32, 34; burial patterns, 29, 84; cultural climax, 103; Dallas phase of, 178; iconography, 27; middle phase of, 103; substructure mounds, 195
- Mississippi Association of Professional Archaeologists, 193
- Mississippi River, 51, 78, 83, 180, 183; delta complexes, 52, 57; distributaries, 58–59; meander belts, 57; valley, 100
- Mississippi State University, 15, 190, 192, 193; field schools, 189
- Missouri, University of, 15, 71, 74, 83
- Mithradates the Magnificent, 5
- Moccasin Bend site, 177
- Modern Greece* shipwreck, 139
- Modoc Rock Shelter, 108, 196
- Mollohan, Robert H. (congressman), 124
- Monongahela culture, late prehistoric, 118
- Monongahela River, 116
- Monte Sano site, 89
- Montgomery Incised Pottery, 125
- Mooney, James, 127
- Moore, Clarence Bloomfield, 7, 15, 69, 78, 148, 149, 183, 184, 195, 198, 199–200, 202, 203–4, 208, 209, 220, 225, 226, 235
- Moore, David, 141
- Moorehead, Warren K., 15, 29, 79, 102, 149, 184, 193, 195, 209
- Morrell, L. Ross, 205
- Morris site, 166
- Morse, Dan, 15, 177
- Moss-Bennett Act of 1974, 44, 110, 138, 142. *See also* Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974
- Mouer, L. Daniel, 132
- Mound Builder: culture; myth, 101; problem, 100
- Moundville, 30, 199–203, 208; Archaeological Park, 201; Mound A, 203; Mound C, 202; Mound E, 203; Mound F, 203; Mound G, 202, 203; Mound M, 202, 203; Mound P, 202; Mound Q, 203; Mound R, 202, 203; Mound V, 203; museum at, 237; palisade, 199; Phase IV, 201, 206; plaza, 199
- Mount Carbon site, 116, 117, 118, 119

- Mount Vernon, purchase of, 127
 Mud Glyph Cave, 181
 Mulberry Mound site, 148, 151, 153, 155, 156
 Muller, Jon, 27, 33, 167, 168, 239
 Munson, Cheryl A., 167
 Murad Mound, 117, 119, 120
 Museum, definitions of, 14–15; populist exhibits, 24
 Museum of the American Indian, 78, 136, 235
 Muskogee culture, 32
 Myer, William E., 173, 174
- Nacoochee Mound, 209
 Nanih Waiya site, 186
 Nash, Carole, 131
 Nash, Charles H., 176, 177
 Natchez Bluffs area, 184
 Natchez Trace Parkway, 187
 Natchez tribe, site occupation, 166
 National Endowment for the Humanities, 207
 National Environmental Policy Act of 1971, 152
 National Gallery of Art, 34
 National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, 130, 138, 139, 142, 152, 162, 177, 189, 216, 217
 National Museum of Natural History, 15, 19, 116
 National Park Service, 84, 121, 123, 124, 131, 141, 142, 143, 186, 187, 200, 210; River Basin Surveys Program, 19, 22, 83, 161, 177, 211, 212, 217; Southeast Archaeological Center, 219, 220
 National Research Council, 6, 185
 National Science Foundation, 22, 73, 74; grants, 27, 111, 121, 161, 162, 179, 189, 202, 203, 205, 207, 220
 National Youth Science Camp, 120, 123
 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA), 179, 180, 181, 217, 224, 238
- Natrium Mound, 116, 117
 Naturalists Press, 66
 Nebraska, University of, 7
 Neighbors, M. Wayne, 155
 Neitzel, R. S. (“Stu”), 7, 11, 176, 188
 Nelson, Nels, 15
 Neolithic, Old World, 19
 Neuman, Robert W., 238
 Neumann, Georg K., 176
 New Archaeology, 7, 12, 43, 110, 111, 161, 191, 222, 224; as class struggle, 239–40. *See also* Processualism
 Newcomb, Sophie, 89
 New Deal Archaeology, 4, 210, 234
 New Deal relief programs, 150, 235, 236, 241
 New Madrid site, 64
 New Mexico, University of, 240
 New Orleans, University of, Department of Anthropology and Geography, 90
 New River, 127, 129
 Nickajack Reservoir, 177
 Nickerson, William B., 102
 Nielsen, Jerry J., 206
 Nipper Creek site, 156
 Nixon, Richard M., 87, 233–34
 Nodena Site, 80
 Normandy: Archaeological Project, 178, 179; Reservoir, 179
 Norona, Delf, 115
 Norris, Colonel P. W., 115
 Norris Basin, excavations in, 174
 North Carolina, Department of Archives and History, 138, 139; Department of Transportation, 139; Office of State Archaeology, 139, 140, 141
 North Carolina, University of: at Chapel Hill, 15, 138, 198; at Charlotte, 139; faculty of, 137; Research Laboratories of Anthropology (RLA), 39, 40, 138, 139, 140 (as Research Laboratories of Archaeology), 142; at Wilmington, 139
 North Florida, University of, 222

- Northwestern State University (La.), 90, 91
- Northwestern University, 109, 110
- Nottingham Family Home (18th-century site), 123
- Nuckolls site, 180
- Nuyaka, 204, 205
- Oak Ridge Facility, 23
- O'Brien, Michael J., 74, 88
- O'Bryan Ridge, 72
- Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), 215
- Ocmulgee Mounds, 209, 210, 211, 217
- O'Hear, John W., 190
- Ohio River, 194; Black Bottom of, 103, 106, 111
- Ohio River Valley, 100
- Ohio State Museum, 73
- Ohio Valley Archaeological Conference, 124
- Oklahoma, University of, archaeology lab, 27
- Olafson, Sigfus, 122
- Old Dominion University, 132
- Old Hickory Reservoir, 179
- Old Mobile, 206, 207, 208; Project, 207
- Old Salem site, 138
- Old Stone Fort State Park, 177
- Oliver, Billy, 141
- Osborne, Douglas, 176
- Osterhout, Major George, 149
- Ouachita River, 78, 79, 81, 82
- Outer Banks area, 141
- Ozan Creek, 78
- Ozark Mountains, 78
- Ozark Reservoir, 84
- Page site, 166
- Paintsville: excavation of Mounds C and O, 164; Reservoir, 161; site, 164
- Paleo-botanical studies, 90
- Paleo-Indian: artifacts, 72; in Alabama, 196; in Florida, 228; in Kentucky, 162; in South Carolina, 151, 153, 154; in Tennessee, 180
- Paleo-subsistence data, 158
- Palmer, Edward, 78, 199
- Palmer cultural phase, 153
- Panamerican Associates (archaeology firm), 191
- Pardo, Juan, 48
- Parker, James W., 207
- Parkin Site, 84
- Parler, Robert, 153
- Parmalee, Paul, 178
- Particularists, 44
- Patawomeck site, 128
- Patterson, Thomas, 110
- Pavao-Zuckerman, Barnet, 206
- Peabody, Charles, 136, 183, 193
- Peachtree Mound, 150
- Peaks of Otter site, 131
- Pearl beads, 32
- Pearl's Bar, 112
- Pecan Point site, 183
- Peebles, Christopher H., 15, 30, 31, 123, 190, 201, 202, 240
- Pee Dee culture, 141
- Pekrul, Sharon, 159
- Pennsylvania, University of, 190
- Perryville, Civil War battlefield site, 171
- Petersburg site, 117
- Peterson, Drexel A., 153
- Petrie, Sir William Matthew Flinders, 25
- Petroglyphs, 33, 84
- Pharr Mound, 188
- Phelps, David S., 138–39, 141
- Phillips, Philip, 9, 10, 15, 27, 29, 30, 33, 52, 73, 81, 82, 83, 86, 186, 187, 192, 235
- Physical anthropology, 90, 214; studies in, 158, 174
- Pickwick River Basin, 4, 196
- Pictographs, 33
- Pidgeon, William, 126
- Piedmont, area of North Carolina, 141
- Pierre Rochon Plantation site, 207

- Pine Log Creek Mound, 206; Bear Point Phase, of, 206
- Pinhook Ridge site, 66
- Pinson Mounds, 174, 177
- Pintlala Creek, 204
- Pisgah culture, 140, 141
- Pitts, Joan K., 124
- Plantation: archaeology, 47, 158; economy, 46
- Pleistocene, 74; sites, 196
- Point of Pines, 71
- Polhemus, Richard R., 178
- Political economy, 113; emphasis on different aspects, 113–14
- Pollard, John Garland, 127
- Poole Site, 81
- Port Dauphin Village site, 207
- Porter, James W., 109, 112, 113
- Post-Columbian artifacts, 204
- Postmodernism: critiques, 24, 43, 46.
See also Post-processualism
- Post-processualism, 42, 43, 181; cognitive approach, 181; critique, 47; in historic archaeology, 42–43; vs. processualism, 113–14. *See also* Postmodernism
- Potano culture, 229
- Potomac River, 127, 128
- Potter, William, 66, 70
- Poverty Point site, 10, 11, 89, 91, 92, 93–94, 188; objects, 10, 68, 71; period, 52, 187
- Powell, B. Bruce, 41
- Powell, John Wesley, 100, 101
- Powell, Mary L., 202
- Power's Fort, 66
- Powers Phase Project, 23, 74
- Powers site, 202
- Prentice, Guy, 33
- Price, James E., 74, 123
- Price, Paul H., 118
- Pride Place site, 201
- Prison Farm Stone Mound, 119
- Processual: archaeology, 43, 110, 241; change, 47; interpretations, 113–14, 205; paradigm, 177, 181
- Processualism, 50; introduction of, 240.
See also New Archaeology
- Pueblo Bonito site, 185
- Purdy, Barbara A., 220
- Purrrington, Burt, 139
- Putnam, Fredrick Ward, 65, 66, 102, 173
- Quad site, 196
- Quapaw settlements, Osotouy, 82, 83
- Quimby, George, 3, 4, 15
- Quimby, Ian, 42
- Rabbit Mount shell midden, 153
- Race, 47; discrimination issues, 241–42; equality of, 214
- Rackerby, Frank, 111
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 105, 106
- Radiocarbon dating, 52, 57. *See also* Carbon-14 dating
- Rafferty, Janet E., 190
- Rafinesque, Constantine, 19
- R. D. Bailey Reservoir, 123
- Rectangular Grave culture, 173–74
- Redfield, Alden, 53
- Redfield, Robert, 105, 106
- Red River, 78, 91; Reservoir, 161
- Refuge site, 150
- Register of Professional Archaeologists, 160, 223
- Reid, Kenneth C., 123
- Reilly, Kent, 29
- Reinhart, Theodore, 132
- Reitz, Elizabeth, 49
- Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960, 142
- Revolutionary War, 6, 99; period sites, 45
- Reynolds, Elmer R., 127
- Reynolds, Henry L., 148
- Rhodes site, 183
- Richard B. Russell Reservoir, 23, 155
- Richland Mound, 117, 122
- Rich Woods site, 66
- Riggs, "Captain" C. W., 77
- Riley, Carroll, 108
- Rippeteau, Bruce E., 151

- River channel chronology, 52
 Roach site, 166
 Roanoke Rapids Reservoir, 142
 Roanoke River, 128, 129, 137, 140
 Rock art, 29, 181; symbolism of, 182
 Roland, Dunbar, 185, 193
 Rolingson, Martha A., 162
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 210
 Rosenberry Farm, 125; mound, 125
 Rossen, Jack, 163
 Round Grave culture, 173
 Rountree, Helen C., 132
 Rouse, Irving, 41, 70, 71, 73, 225
 Rowe, Chandler, 176
 Rowlesburgh Reservoir area, 117, 121
 Rundquist, Jeanette, 143
 Russell Cave, 196
 Russell site, 187
 Rust, Horatio N., 70
 Ryba, Elizabeth A., 203
- Sabloff, Jeremy, 110, 147
 Salem College, 122
 Salt River Drainage project, 169
 Sanderson, Dewey, 125
 Sandy Woods site, 70, 71, 76
 San Luis de Talimali missions, 48
 Santee River, 150, 154, 157
 Sapelo Shell Ring, 213
 Sassaman, Kenneth E., 155, 158
 Saturiwa culture, 229
 Saucier, Roger T., 75, 97
 Savannah River, 147, 151, 217; Plant
 (SRS); 155, 156; site, 153
 Saxe, Art, 201
 Say, Thomas, 100
 Scarry, C. Margaret, 202
 Schambach, Frank F., 81
 Schatte, Kevin E., 203
 Schele, Linda, 29
 Schiele Museum of Natural History, 139
 Schmitt, Karl, 128
 Schnell, Frank T., 119
 Schoeninger, Margaret J., 202
- Scholtz, Sandra P., 79
 Schoolcraft, Henry R., 147
 Schroedl, Gerald F., 178
 Schwartz, Douglas W., 162
 Scully, Edward G., 71, 72
 Scurry, James, 159
 SEAC. *See* Southeastern Archaeological
 Conference
 Sears, William H., 15, 211, 212, 219, 220,
 224, 225, 228
 SECC. *See* Southeastern Ceremonial
 Complex
 Sellers, George Escol, 102
 Selsertown. *See* Emerald Mound
 Service, Elman R., 201
 Settlement pattern studies, 75
 Setzler, Frank M., 106, 116
 Shawnee Lake Site, 121
 Sheldon, Craig T., Jr., 205, 206, 207
 Shell, engraved, 31, 32; Braden style, 32,
 34; gorgets, 30, 31; mask gorgets, 32;
 studies of, 30
 Shell Engraving Project, 29
 Shell middens, 4, 5
 Shell Mound Archaeological Project, 162
 Shenkel, Richard J., 90
 Shorter, George W., Jr., 207
 Sikeston Ridge, 64, 65, 66, 70
 Silver Bluff site, 147
 Silvia, Diane E., 206
 Simek, Jan, 181
 Siouan tribes, 126, 140; research into, 143
60 Minutes, 124
 Slattery, Richard G., 128
 Slaughter site, 189
 Slavery: African, 46, 47, 170, 180; Fort
 Ancient component, 168; Indian, 46;
 plantation, 49
 Slone site, 161
 Smith, Bruce D., 123
 Smith, Capt. John, 126
 Smith, Gerald P., 130
 Smith, G. Hubert, 41
 Smith, Hale G., 37, 38, 41, 219, 220, 225

- Smith, Joseph, 19
- Smith, Marvin T., 48, 158, 204, 205, 206
- Smithsonian Institution, 8, 30, 77, 78, 101, 185, 211, 212; National Anthropological Archives, 78, 88, 100; Division of Mound Exploration, 100, 115, 116, 165
- Snag Creek Rock Shelter, 121
- Snow, Charles E., 116
- Snows Bend, 201
- Snyder, John F., 102
- Social relativism, 214
- Society for American Archaeology, 36; Committee on Public Archaeology, 87
- Society for Georgia Archaeology, 217
- Society for Historical Archaeology: founding in 1967, 42; Newsletter, 46
- Society for Industrial Archaeology, 170
- Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA), 23, 223
- Soday, Frank J., 196
- Solecki, Ralph, 116
- Somerset Place site, 138
- South, Jewel, 39
- South, Stanley, 35, 38, 43, 46, 47, 50, 138, 140, 141, 142, 149, 153, 157
- South Alabama, University of, 207
- South Carolina, University of, 15, 152, 155, 156
- South Carolina Department of Archaeology, 151
- South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 152; State Historic Preservation Officer, 152
- South Carolina Heritage Trust, 158
- South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 145, 152, 153, 154, 158, 159, 236, 237
- Southeastern Archaeological Conference, 7, 9, 15, 39, 41, 123, 225, 242; 1938 founding of, 36; 1970 meeting of, 145; 1983 meeting of, 156; 1999 meeting of, 233; 50th anniversary meeting of, 233; 60th anniversary meeting of, 233; split from CHSA, 41
- Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32; aesthetic value of, 34; iconographic studies of, 32, 33; stylistic analysis of, 32, 33; trade networks within, 31, 33; typological studies of, 32, 33
- Southeastern Missouri, 60, 63
- Southeast Missouri State University, 68
- Southern Illinois University, 106, 108, 109, 111; anthropology department, 108; at Carbondale (SIUC), 66, 108; Center for Archaeological Investigations at SIUC, 112; at Edwardsville, 109; Graduate School Office of Research, 111
- Southern Methodist University, 91
- Southern Mississippi, University of, 190, 191, 193
- Southern segregation, stance on anthropology, 214, 236
- South Florida, University of: at Tampa, 219, 220, 222; at Sarasota, 222
- South Holston Dam, 129
- Spadra Factory, 83
- Spanish explorers, 37, 48. *See also* De Luna; De Narvaez; De Soto; Pardo
- Spanish Florida, 43
- Spanish Mount shell midden, 153
- Spanish Santa Elena, 45, 149
- Spaulding, Albert C., 11, 71, 161, 188, 201, 240
- Speck, Frank G., 127
- Spier's Landing site, 158
- Spiro site, 27, 30, 31, 32, 34
- Sprunt, James, 136
- Squier, Ephraim G., 115
- St. Albans, 117, 119, 120; projectile point sequence from, 122; stratigraphy of, 120; water screening at, 121
- St. Andrews College, 139
- St. Augustine, 17, 37, 45

- St. Bernard complex, 57
 St. Catherine's Island, 23
 St. Francis River, 73, 78
 St. John's culture, 228
 St. Johns River Basin, 227
 St. Louis Academy of Science, 66
 Stabler, Hugh V., 128
 Stallings fiber-tempered pottery, 150, 157
 Stallings Island site, 149, 209; culture, 151
 Stanfield-Worley Rock Shelter, 197
 Staunton River, 129
 Stephenson, Robert L., 41, 147, 151, 152, 156, 237
 Steponaitis, Vincas P., 187, 202
 Sterling, Matthew, 15
 Stevenson, Robert, 15
 Steward, Julian, 106, 108
 Stewart, Michael, 131
 Stewart, T. Dale, 128, 129
 Stine, Linda F., 158
 Stirling, Matthew, 129
 Stoltman, James B., 19, 153
 Stone box graves: association with Shawnee tribe, 173; excavations of, 173; looting of, 99
 Stonewall Jackson Reservoir, 124
 Stovall Museum, 27
 Stowe, Noel R., 207
 Strachey, William, 126
 Struever, Stuart, 110
 Stuart, George, 151
 Subsistence studies, 48, 49
 Summerville Reservoir, 118
 Sumter National Forest, 155
 Sunflower River, 183
 Sutherland, Don, 153
 Swallow, George Clinton, 65
 Swanton, John R., 15, 37, 82, 184, 204
 Swauger, James L., 118
 Taft, Kristi E., 203
 Tallapoosa River, 204
 Tallassee, 204
 Tarleton, Sam, 142
 Taxonomic systems, museum, 20
 Taylor, Walter W., 106, 108
 Taylor point types, 152
 Taylor site, 149, 153, 202
 Tellico Reservoir project, 23, 178, 179
 Tennessee, University of: Division of Anthropology, 176; at Knoxville, 180
 Tennessee: Department of Transportation, Division of Archaeology, 179, 180
 Tennessee River, 8, 129, 177, 189, 194, 195, 197
 Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, 23, 189; Project, 192, 208
 Tennessee Valley Authority, 4, 23, 36, 129, 174, 179, 188, 196, 198, 199, 201; Act of 1933, 174
 Tennessee Valley Historical Society, 195
 Tensas Basin, 91
 Teoc Creek site, 189
 Texas, University of, 81
 Texas mission sites, 48
 Textiles, studies of, 30
 Thomas, Cyrus, 15, 65, 66, 78, 100, 101, 115, 199, 209, 235
 Thomas, David, 43, 48
 Thom's Creek pottery, 152, 155, 157
 Thom's Creek site, 153
 Thorne, Robert M., 189
 Thunderbird site, 131
 Thurmond, Strom, 235
 Tiger Rock Site, 119
 Tigris River, 5
 Tims Ford Reservoir, 178, 179
 Timucuan culture, 228
 Tin can archaeology, 39, 44
 Tinsley Hill site, 167, 168
 Tisdale, Judge John, 130
 Tohopeka, 205
 Toltec Site, 77, 84
 Tolu site, 166
 Tombigbee River, 183, 189–90, 199
 Tompkins Farm Site, 122

- Toth, Edwin Alan, 91
- Town Creek Indian Mound, 138, 140, 142, 150; state historical site, 39, 141. *See also* Frutchey Mound
- Town Creek sites, 195
- Townsend, Thomas, 115
- Trade goods, English, 205; Spanish, 205
- Trigger, Bruce, 101, 110
- Trinkley, Michael, 153, 155, 156, 158
- Troost, Gerard, 172
- Truman, Harry S., administration, 214
- Tryon Place site, 138
- Tukabatchee, 205
- Tulane University, 89, 90, 137, 141, 206
- Tunica tribe sites, 91
- Turks: Old, 5, 7, 10; Young, 5, 9, 10, 105, 112
- Turner, E. Randolph, 131
- Tuscarora tribe, 141
- Tushingam, Shannon, 3
- TVA. *See* Tennessee Valley Authority
- Twelve Pole Creek, 120
- Unmarked Burial Law of 1991, 85
- Upper Coosa Reservoir, 23
- Upper Ohio Valley Archaeological Survey, 116
- Upper Saure Town site, 143
- U.S. Army, Environmental and Natural Resources and Management Division, 96
- U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 87, 111, 191; Geology Branch's Water Experiment Station, 52, 56; lands managed by, 94; Mississippi River Commission, 51; Mobile District office of, 190; Nashville District Office of, 190; New Orleans office of, 96; Vicksburg District Office of, 190
- U.S. Department of Agriculture, 94
- U.S. Department of Energy, archaeological projects, 153, 234
- U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission, 204
- U.S. Forest Service, 84, 111, 157; in Louisiana, 96; in Mississippi, 191; properties of, 94
- U.S. Soil Conservation Service, 87, 124
- U.S. Supreme Court, 214
- Valentine, Mann S., 136
- Valentine: Virginia family of, 127; Museum, 127
- Valley train levels, 52–53
- Varney Red, 72
- Varney Site, 72
- Vidal, Gore, 124
- Vietnam War, 241
- Virginia, archaeological sites flooded without survey, 129–30
- Virginia, State Library, 130
- Virginia Commonwealth University, 131
- Virginia Department of Transportation, 133
- Virginia Electric Power Company, grant, 142
- Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, 131; Department of Historic Resources, 133; name change of, 131; Threatened Sites Program, 133
- Virginia Research Center for Historic Archaeology
- Vogel, Joseph O., 202
- Waddell, Eugene, 152
- Wagner, Gail E., 163
- Wainright, Captain Robert D., 128
- Wakefield site, 128
- Wake Forest University, 139
- Walker, S. T., 225
- Walker, Wendell C., 176
- Walker, Winslow, 69–70, 79
- Walling Site, 198
- Wall site, 137
- Walter F. George Reservoir, 212
- Walthall, John A., 15, 194, 198, 202
- Ward, H. Trawick, 143
- Ward site, 139

- Waring, Antonio J., Jr., 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 148, 150, 151, 209
- Warren Wilson site, 141
- Waselkov, Greg, 194, 205, 206
- Washington University, 70
- Wateree River, Mississippian ceramic sequence, 156, 157
- Watson, Patty Jo, 111, 162, 163
- Watson Brake Site, 92, 93
- Watson Stone Mound, 116, 117
- Watts, Gordon, 139
- Watts Bar Basin project, 176
- Wauchope, Robert, 41, 89, 137, 140, 141, 149, 209, 211, 212
- Webb, Clarence H., 11, 88–89, 97
- Webb, Major William S., 3, 4, 7, 8, 15, 116, 164, 165, 166, 168, 174, 176, 196, 235
- Wedel, Waldo, 129
- Weed Shelter, 125
- Weems Site, 72
- Weigand, Phil, 111
- Welch, Paul D., 202
- Welcome Mound, 116, 117
- Wenner Gren Symposium, 162
- Wesson, Cameron B., 206
- Western Carolina College, 139
- West Florida, University of, 190, 222
- West Fork River, 124
- West Liberty College, 120
- West Virginia: Department of Natural Resources, 123; Department of Transportation, 124; Governor's Board of Review, 119
- West Virginia Antiquities Commission, 122
- West Virginia Archaeological Society, 119, 121; Appalachian Highlands Chapter, 123; Konawha Chapter, 120, 123; Wheeling Chapter, 120
- West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, 115; Section of Archaeology, 118, 121, 124, 125; site survey files, 119
- West Virginia Institute of Technology, 118
- West Virginia University, 121
- Wheat, Joe Ben, 71
- Wheaton, Thomas R., 158
- Wheeler River Basin, 4, 196
- White, Hayden V., 16
- White, John, 126
- White, Leslie A., 4
- White, Max, 139
- Whiteford, Andrew, 176
- White River, 73, 78
- White site, 201
- Whitthoft, John, 169
- Wickliffe Mounds site, 167, 168
- Wilbanks Farm Site, 211
- Wilbanks Phase, 26, 32
- Wilford, Lloyd, 71
- Wilhelm Mound, 119, 120
- Wilkins, Gary R., 125
- Willey, Gordon R., 15, 37, 110, 147, 163, 165, 166, 209, 220, 225, 235
- Williams, Stephen, 15, 41, 187, 201; "Vacant Quarter" theory, 167
- Williams, Talcott, 136
- Williams/Glover site, 166
- Williamsburg site, 39, 128
- Williamson site, Paleo-Indian component, 129
- Willoughby, Charles, 15
- Willow Island Locks and Dam, 123
- Wilson, Lanford, 110; *The Mound Builders* (play), 110
- Wilson Dam, 195
- Wimberly, Steve, 212
- Windover Pond Site, 228
- Windy Ridge mitigation project, 154
- Wing, Elizabeth, 49
- Winters, Howard, 109, 111
- Winterthur Conference of 1972, 42
- Wisconsinan Stage, 53, 57; Early, 53; Late, 53
- Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of, 108
- Wittry, Warren, 83
- Wolf Run site, 124
- Wood, W. Raymond, 81
- Woodall, J. Ned, 139

- Woodland Period: interregional
interaction, 196; Middle, 179, 188,
198; ritual, 196
- Woods, Al, 50
- Woods Island, 205
- Woodward Village site, 220
- Works Progress Administration, 3, 5, 36,
37, 81, 89, 106, 150, 188, 192, 196, 198,
242; archaeology, 8; archaeology labo-
ratory, 3, 4; projects, 30, 193; worker
discrimination, 241
- World Columbian Exposition of 1893, 18;
exhibits, 102; Illinois Commissioner
for Archaeological Exhibits, 101
- World Cultural Systems, 35
- World War I, 101
- World War II, 4, 37, 83, 106–7, 129, 137,
150, 176, 186, 188, 196, 200, 210, 214, 217
- WPA. *See* Works Progress Administration
- Wright State University, 143
- Wyckoff, Don G., 169
- Wyman, Jeffries, 225, 235
- Wythe House, 39
- Yadkin River Valley, 137, 139
- Yale University, 70, 71, 72, 91; Peabody
Museum, 15, 65
- Yarnell, Richard A., 163, 178
- Yatesville Reservoir, 161
- Yazoo: Basin, 8, 55, 60, 189, 190; chro-
nology of, 186–87; River, 183
- Yellow Creek, 189; proposed nuclear
power plant, 190
- Young, Amy Lambeck, 193
- Young Mound, 121
- Youse, Hillis, 120, 121, 122, 125
- Zierden, Martha, 158
- Zooarchaeology studies, 158; historical,
49; prehistoric, 90

Archaeology/Anthropology

Written for the most part by members of the first post-depression generation of southeastern archaeologists, *Histories of Southeastern Archaeology* offers a window not only into the archaeological past of the United States but also into the hopes and despairs of archaeologists who worked to write that unrecorded history or to test scientific theories concerning culture.

"This volume, consisting of both memoirs and histories of southeastern archaeology by leading authorities in their respective states and fields, will be of interest to all who wish to understand not only the archaeology of the southeastern United States, but also how we learned what we now know about the unwritten past."

—Frank T. Schnell, Columbus Museum of Arts and Sciences

"The state-by-state approach used for this volume provides a different dimension to the history of archaeology in the Southeast. Regional trends are evident, but the individual state histories written by people who participated in or witnessed the changes provide an insider's view that will be of interest to a wide audience."

—Martha Rolingson, Arkansas Archeological Survey

Contributors:

David G. Anderson	Jay K. Johnson	Ann F. Ramenofsky
David S. Brose	Bennie C. Keel	Kenneth E. Sassaman
James A. Brown	Vernon J. Knight Jr.	Roger T. Saucier
Bettye J. Broyles	Lewis Larson	Stanley South
R. Berle Clay	Howard A. MacCord Sr.	Shannon Tushingham
Hester A. Davis	Charles H. McNutt	John A. Walthall
Kathleen Deagan	Jerald T. Milanich	Gregory Waselkov
Charles H. Faulkner	Jon Muller	Stephen Williams
William Haag	Robert W. Neuman	
Jane Hill	George Quimby	

Shannon Tushingham is a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at the University of California–Davis. Jane Hill is a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. Charles H. McNutt is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Memphis.

The University of Alabama Press
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35487-0380
www.uapress.ua.edu

ISBN 0-8173-1137-4



9 780817 113711



9 00000